

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

(Formerly Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia)

Friends' Historical Association founded Twelfth Month 4, 1873.
Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia founded Fifth Month
16, 1904. The two societies merged Twelfth Month 1, 1923. The
Bulletin published since 1906.

VOLUME XVII - 18

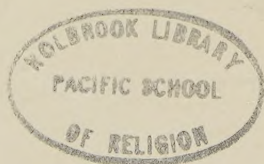
1928 - 29

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142 North Sixteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
1928

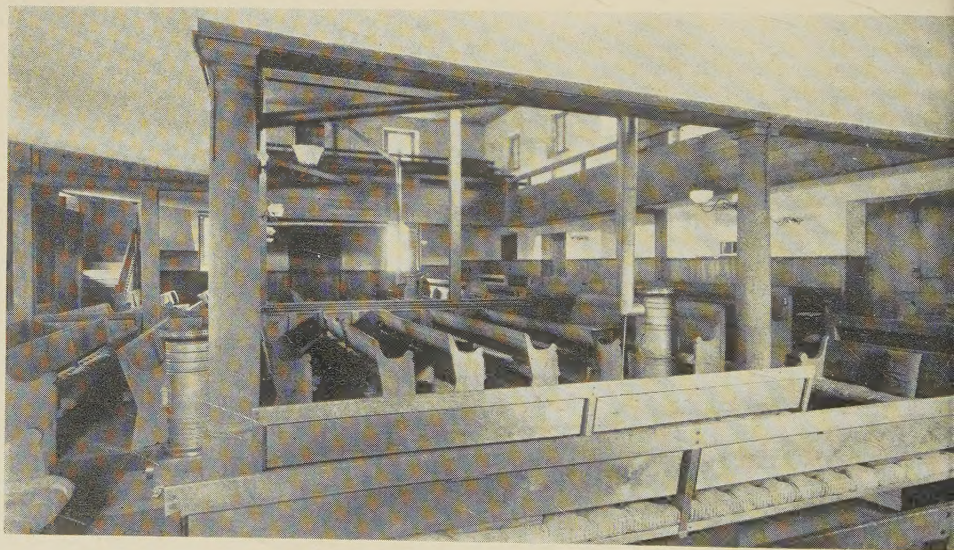
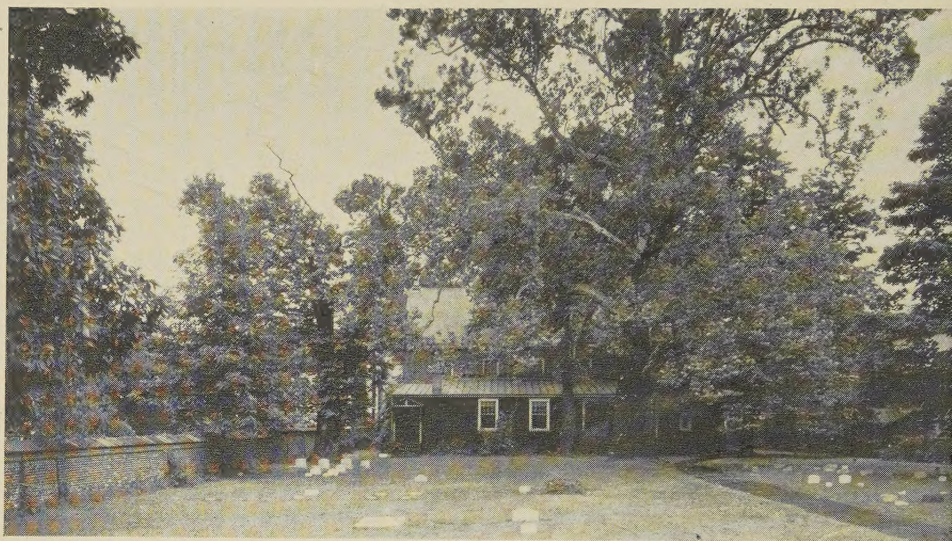


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FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, BURLINGTON, N. J.

Erected 1784, on site of an early hexagonal building of 1682. The Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia was held here and in that city alternately until 1760. In the graveyard behind the house (upper view) are buried the Indian Ockanickon (1677) and many distinguished Friends: John Kinsey, the elder (1677), Samuel Smith (1776), Stephen Grellet (1855), Eliza P. Gurney (1881), the families of Cox, Dillwyn, Deacon, Scattergood, and many more.

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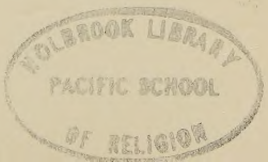
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Communications concerning circulation and editorial matters should be addressed to Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer of FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 118 West Coulter Street, Germantown, Pennsylvania.

Subscription price, \$1.00 per number, \$2.00 per annum. Half price to libraries ordering direct from BULLETIN office. All members receive the BULLETIN without extra charge.



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NOTICE TO MEMBERS

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

Any member of the Society of Friends and also non-Friends are eligible for membership and the committee would welcome nominations. Kindly forward such nominations to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, Anna J. Branson, Walnut Hill, 4111 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Annual membership dues, \$2.00. Life membership, \$50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

PERSPECTIVE *

BY FRANCIS R. TAYLOR

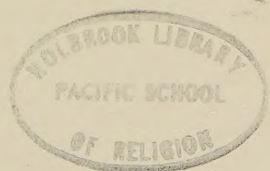
Fifty-four years have passed since a group of Friends of both branches met and started the Friends' Historical Association. At that time intercourse between the two branches was frowned upon and the Association is the more noteworthy on that account. In 1904 Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was founded by Isaac Sharpless, in whom historical vision first reappeared among modern American Friends. The present Association, after merger with the Society, is the result.

We have some achievements in which we can take a degree of satisfaction, but in very truth we wish for a wider historical interest and fellowship. To this Association the Yearly Meetings of America should look for historical inspiration, interpretation and guidance. Without such, we shall inevitably face again a tragedy as ghastly as the Separations of a century ago, and face it as did our forefathers, unprepared by historical insight and vision. My earnest plea, in asking support for this Association, is for a wider experience and a finer perspective.

For the Historical Society of a religious denomination has the world for its field. It ranges over the earth, touching events here and there in its own peculiar line of effort. With a lively appreciation of perspective the commonplace, unconnected, present events automatically fall into their right relationship with the past and the future, and from meaningless episodes they become full of life and significance.

If you doubt the accuracy of this statement, let me challenge your attention for a few moments to a most dramatic incident in the history of the Society of Friends,—an event that has but

* Presidential Address given before the Friends' Historical Association at Burlington, New Jersey, Eleventh Month 29, 1927.



recently happened. At the Lausanne Conference on Christian unity among the Churches last summer, were gathered representatives of practically all of the Protestant Churches of the world, with many millions of professing Christians represented. And of that group, there were two Quakers, one from London and one from Philadelphia, representing the 150,000 Friends in the world. There was earnest search for a basis of Church unity, at once so broad and so concise that every communion could embrace it and yet retain its own peculiar tenets. When the Conference came to a consideration of the Sacraments, with particular reference to the Supper and Baptism, the emphasis laid by those two Quaker representatives upon the essentially spiritual nature of both, to the exclusion of necessity for their outward celebration, brought that great assembly to consider elements of faith and practice that were novel to most of the communions present. The attitude of the Friends was by no means a negative one. They strove for a realization of the essential spiritual values behind the outward act, to the ignoring of the act itself, and so successful were they and so predominant was the weight of the mere handful of believers behind them, that these subjects were sent back time and again to committee and finally held over in a manner highly satisfactory to Friends.

I mention this incident to throw it into its proper perspective in our present history, so that we may correlate it with the future as well as with the past. When a Society of only 150,000 people, scattered in all parts of the world, has sufficient religious vitality, of a different and peculiar type, amicably to hold in flux the conclusions of millions of their brethren, a proper perspective would indicate that there is a destiny of some kind awaiting that small group.

Now leaving behind that incident in itself, I believe there is much of moment both within and without the Lausanne Conference, for Christians of all persuasions to consider. We are in a time of vast and indeterminate changes. History, and the perspective that history makes possible, will do much to enlighten Christendom during the progress of those changes. The tragedies recorded in the world's history were, in most cases, due to the inability of the actors to read aright the lessons which the past had

to teach the then present. The greatest tragedies are those in which the prophet or seer, to whom the past in perspective is an open book, goes down into the maelstrom of defeat and death at the hands of a generation that has ears but will not hear and eyes that see not. Truly Christians need both discernment and dedication if the perplexities of the present are to be successfully met without tragedy and unwonted sacrifice.

In every phase of life that perplexity of subtle change is evident. It seems unguided; it baffles analysis; no one started it or wanted it, but it is going along inexorably, inevitably, and many there are who wonder where this unsought and impersonal change is leading us. We are not disposed to partake of the change,—and yet, willy-nilly we are swept along with it. We countenance things today which mayhap we do not like, and which to a former generation were positive snares of the devil, and yet we smile and go along.

In our social life,—the wider social life of nations, I mean,—we are deeply disturbed. We are told that another war will destroy our civilization and that the Churches can end war. And yet we hesitate in a real uncertainty as to the right way to proceed. We lack a true perspective. We are wrought up into fever heat over racial questions. The world is too small for all the races that have dwelt upon it in the past and we do not know how to solve the perplexities of race, any more than did our forbears when questions of dynasty, religion, territory or political systems assailed them. They fought wars over these perplexities and we seem to have no better solution for our insoluble problems than did they, in spite of the fact that modern history has given us possibilities of perspective so infinitely richer than they had, that our indifference and procrastination are little short of criminal.

Then too the world is in political flux. In the Middle Ages Feudalism, with all its chivalry and incipient despotism, supplanted the tyrannies of earlier times. And then Feudalism gave way, by gradual change and in the course of centuries, to the modern industrial organization that we call Capitalism. So too that industrialized society has been assailed for nearly a century by Socialism, and many socialistic enterprises have been grafted upon the Capitalistic society. More recent yet, Communism has

raised its protest, and one of the great nations of the earth is devoutly Communistic with all the fervor of religious fanaticism. Communism is as cordially damned by the Capitalistic societies, as our own Democratic experiment was by the Monarchists of Europe a century and a half ago.

Have we a sufficient perspective upon these things to give us a sense of poise, of impartial judgment, aside from our innate prejudices, that will allow us to evaluate them sanely? Human relationships will go on. We cannot stop them. They will topple into another whirlpool, or they will safely avoid catastrophe, according to the wisdom, widely disseminated, of great groups of people, and we of this favored nation are the most important of those groups at the present time. Have we the perspective to see, and, if we see, the faith and the will to bring the desired end into effect?

As it is in social and political life, so even more is it in religious life. The shifting process in things religious during the past century has vastly accelerated during the past two decades. I know not why we do not anticipate such shifts. The era of Apostolic Christianity lasted only about a century. For fourteen centuries thereafter, the Roman, Armenian, and Greek Churches, through various vicissitudes, represented practically all of the Christian thought and experience, until the time of the Protestant Reformation. Since then, in the course of a few centuries, we have had the richness of diversity and individualism in the Protestant sects, no one of which is of sufficient antiquity to be classed as long-lived. Can we, of this generation only, presume to go on and on with no vital changes?

What a startling casualty list the roll of Protestant movements discloses, as one inspirational force after another has waxed and waned. There was Lutheranism in Germany, and Anglicanism in England,—both state churches and the earliest immediate successors to Catholicism; and coincident with them, though not allied to the state, Anabaptism in Holland. Thereafter Calvinism projected long shadows of hell and damnation across a few centuries, to be supplanted by Puritanism, in insurrection against the social excesses of the time, and later by the twin opponents,—Evangelicalism and Unitarianism, which under varying names dur-

ing the past 150 years have done battle royal with each other for supremacy in Christian faith, doctrine and practice.

Each of these *isms* still has millions of adherents, among whom probably all of us would class ourselves. With each new or revised conception of Christianity the older faiths have been modified and adapted to assimilate the power peculiar to the new. Calvinism, Puritanism and Evangelicalism have wrought powerfully in the concepts of modern religious thought, and Catholicism and Anglicanism have both felt and bowed to the impact. And yet each of us for his own household of faith must admit that the Christianity of the present has lost much of its driving power and most of its authority.

With all these modifications and adaptations, such authority as there is, is too often the crystallization of credulity and superstition, rather than the whole-hearted act of sublime and continued faith, combined with a culture of curiosity and experimentation. The religion of the future will partake, I believe, very fully of the Quaker dislike of outward authority, and the present revolt against the authority of Church and Creed will lead to a wholesome individualism upon which the faith of the future will be built.

I have rapidly rehearsed these signs of the times, because they have caused all of us to wonder what the future has in store for us along social, political and religious lines. At times we feel like creatures of circumstance, swept along by a current we cannot stem. And so indeed we are; but we are also actors in the great epic of humanity and as actors we help make up the tide of opinion by which the purposive elements of human endeavor are determined. We do not merely drift. We do direct in part our destinies and therein lies the effectiveness of perspective. We may not all agree in our deductions from the perspective that history gives us, but we would rather countenance an honest though nugatory effort to follow historical analogy than a bitter, blind and factional struggle for partisan advantage. As years go on, the clash between Wilson and Lodge illumines beautifully the two types of reaction upon the part of scholarly men, trained in historical analogy and analysis. Future generations will decide between them which was the prophet and which the temporizer.

I do not claim for the study of history any miraculous qualities. I merely say that history enables us to weigh and evaluate. It gives us a sense of present status. It often leads, particularly in small groups, to undue emphasis upon minor personalities and to vain-glorious bumptiousness of ancestor worship upon the part of shriveled descendants, or to the blind worship of tradition and the puffing of present futility. I will yield to none in veneration of the past, yet veneration is but one of the historical stimuli. Tradition and veneration need the life giving currents of perspective to revitalize the past for the proper interpretation of the present and the future. And even then we shall have only status, without the will to do and the desire to achieve. My hope is that this will and this desire may be increasingly prevalent in the Society of Friends for the bringing forth of leaders of modern thought in social, political and religious life, and of modern activity in bringing about the realization of these ideals in actual life. "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them."

THE NEW GENERAL INDEX

As announced in a circular enclosed with the last number of the BULLETIN the second number of the *General Index* is now ready for distribution. In 1922 a *General Index* was published covering Volumes I-X (1906-1921) of the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. In Twelfth Month, 1923, the Society was merged with Friends' Historical Association which had been chartered in 1873 but became inactive in later years. Since 1923 the BULLETIN has been published by the enlarged society which took the older name of *Friends' Historical Association*.

The new *General Index* covers only five years of the BULLETIN, Volumes XI-XV, 1922-1926. In this period a new department, "Items from Periodicals," has been added to the magazine. This department contains so much detail that the indexing problem has been considerably enlarged. Hence a *General Index* covering only five years seemed warranted. The more frequent publication of the Index will no doubt be a convenience to those who use the BULLETIN for reference. It is hoped that this *General Index* may guide every searcher promptly to his objective, and encourage all authors and publishers of Quaker history to make their contributions similarly accessible.

The price of the volume is \$1.50 postpaid. It contains sixty-seven pages and is bound in stiff reinforced paper covers. It is suggested that orders be forwarded promptly as the edition is quite limited. Address orders to Publication Office, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

WHEN THE FRIENDS CAME TO BURLINGTON¹

BY AMELIA M. GUMMERE

These are days of anniversaries and celebrations, and Burlington is not behind in this respect. In fact, she is quite *before* most of them, and to her ancient renown we now come again to pay tribute.

I have wondered if it would not be well for a few moments to try to visualize the background of the original settlers—to see with our mind's eye, as it were, the places and people in England in the middle of the seventeenth century. I believe the average person has a distinct idea that the passengers on the ship "Kent" came over in what we now know as Quaker dress—the men in broad brimmed hats of beaver, and the women in coal scuttle bonnets; the garb, let us say, of Joseph John Gurney and his sister Elizabeth Fry. Such costumes were not invented until the nineteenth century was beginning, and one hundred and fifty years before that the Quaker of the period of George Fox and William Penn wore what everybody else wore, only without the furbelows.

The England of Oliver Cromwell's time was a singularly isolated nation. Her wealthier inhabitants—and many of her aristocracy were not of these—traveled on the Continent, where were going on most of the great movements of the day. The Thirty Years' War had turned Germany into a moral, intellectual, and economic desert, but to Italy had come the revival of learning and art, and Molière, Descartes, Pascal, Spinoza, Grotius, Kepler—to name only a few at random—were moving the minds of all Europe. Holland and Italy were the Meccas of English youth. Milton traveled to complete his education, as did Evelyn, and as also did a few years later, a certain gay youth named William Penn. Art held sway abroad. The great Dutch, Flemish and Spanish painters, like Velasquez, were at their best. Rubens was alive, and Rembrandt lived through the greater part of Fox's life. Heemskerk and Honthorst were Dutch artists who have given us scenes from the earliest Quaker Meetings, one of whom became a Quaker and has left us a remarkable portrait of Fox. But art, to live, must have a background, and it is a singular fact that there were no native born artists in England at this time. The nation, slower than the Continent in its movement, was still in the turmoil of religious conflict, and its social atmosphere had not settled sufficiently for the delicate plant of imaginative art to flower.

Let us for a moment try to picture social England in the middle of the seventeenth century. What were the colonists leaving? William Penn wrote in 1676, "We hope West Jersey will soon be planted, it being in the minds of many Friends to prepare for their going against the Spring."

¹ Address at the Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Association, Friends' Meeting House, Burlington, New Jersey, Eleventh Month 29, 1927. Certain paragraphs in this paper have appeared before.

The life of Fox covers the period in which the England of mediaeval days, with habits and customs and institutions bequeathed by feudalism and early political and social conditions, changed into modern England. At the time of Fox's birth in 1624, life was running still in its old grooves, and the England about which Fox traveled before the establishment of Quaker meetings and the organization of the sect, was a very different one from that which saw his funeral procession of four thousand persons, winding its way to Bunhill Fields in 1690. One should, therefore, indicate two separate conditions and periods of English life, and it may be convenient to take the dates 1665 and 1666—those respectively of the plague and of the great fire—as the dividing line. This may at first sight seem to be confining ourselves to London too exclusively; but to an extent which we cannot now realize, London was England. Or rather, perhaps, there was London, and there was everything else outside.

The relative position of the metropolis was far higher than today. In the middle of the seventeenth century, London was the most populous capital of Europe. It was more than seventeen times the size of Norwich and Bristol, which came next. It had but one commercial rival—Amsterdam. Holland, while all the other nations had been engaged in strife, had used her years of peace, when they came, in so successfully minding her own business, that when England drew a long breath after the Restoration, she found Holland a centre of commerce and culture for the Continent. It is by no accident that the early Quakers gravitated to Holland. Several of the pioneers married Dutch wives. William Penn's mother was a Dutch woman. Benjamin Furly, a leader among them, of an old Chichester family, settled in Rotterdam, where he died, and the fame of his great library still thrills English and American collectors. Remarkable groups of missionary Quakers, led on two occasions by William Penn himself, made tours there. There was also much intercourse between the Pilgrim colony that remained in Leyden with Pastor Robinson, and the early Quakers. This is a fertile and fascinating field for the Quaker historian to cultivate.

The trade of London bore a large proportion to the trade of all England. London was the pride and boast of the Englishman, and the very apple of his eye. It is a temptation to linger over the description of old London, with its timbered houses, its picturesque and filthy streets, whose smells rivalled those of the famed Cologne; its diversity of color in the varied nationalities that jostled each other, and the jargon of tongues that assailed the ear; the open shop; the quaint signs before the house doors; the flower pots which adorned the pent houses, until the watering pot of the owner drenched the pedestrian's uplifted head. London walls still stood, and the old city gates were not pulled down until 1760. Within the walls went on a marvellous life of trade and commerce, of religious contention beyond all belief today, and, under the Stuarts, of dissipation and extravagance never equalled save in the courts of the popes. And beneath it all there

throbbed and strained a true English conscience, a thing that never yet has for long been silenced.

This, then, was London. But many of our settlers came "out of the North." The country began at once outside of London walls, which, after dismissing the traveler under arches where hung the rotting heads of traitors, or even of innocent folk, hanged in haste upon a small pretext, opened upon a landscape of swamp and fen and bog, passed by roads usually traveled only on horseback, and beset with highwaymen. The few who began at this period to ride in coaches, did it at the peril of their lives, and only set out on a long journey after making their wills and taking leave of all their family. A coach and six meant, not grandeur, but sheer necessity, two or four of the six horses being straight from the plow to pull the enormous vehicle. The Northern householder—for it was "out of the North," as the phrase went, that Quakerism came—began his day with a mug of beer. Not until later do we hear of a meal corresponding to our breakfast. Tea and coffee, introduced in London about the middle of the century, were unheard of in the rural neighborhoods. There was little market gardening; potatoes, tomatoes and many modern vegetables were unknown, and when the turnip was introduced it was served raw, in slices, as dessert. Only the great houses had a room set apart for dining. Almost for the first time that room is mentioned in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Knight of the Burning Pestle," when Merrythought says, "I never came into my dining-room but at eleven and six o'clock" (1611). Forks were not used, but spoons, and there was an abundance of fine linen. Pewter supplied most of the table's needs. Only the wealthier used silver. The hall was the general gathering place of the family, and one may read a remarkably accurate and interesting description of the home of a seventeenth century country gentleman in Sir Walter Besant's novel, "For Faith and Freedom." Swarthmoor, Ury, Ruscombe, Worminghurst—all houses picturesquely and closely associated with early Quakerism—each had its hall, where Quaker meetings were held. Farmers and agricultural laborers had their kitchens, and it would be pleasant to linger over these as the scenes of the early meetings of Friends. Almost daily a religious teacher or preacher came through the northern counties, burning with zeal. His welcome was usually warm (until he differed from his audience), and he was invited to take his stand upon the upturned tub, where the hastily gathered neighbors could see and hear him. It was in this fashion that the itinerant preacher of the seventeenth century went about, and very soon the dissenter was known as the *Tub-preacher*.

The King James version of the English Bible had been printed in 1611, only thirteen years before the birth of Fox. Copies of the Bible, usually in Latin, were chained in the churches; occasionally an English translation might be found at the desk, with a man engaged either in reading silently, or more often, in reading aloud to a group of bystanders. When Fox was a youth, however, the Bible had become familiar to the wayfaring man and

its imagery and prophecy made a lasting impression. Its figures were taken with the utmost literalness. All classes were permeated with deep religious feeling, and he who preached with Bible in hand was sure of a hearing. In all the humbler walks of life, spiritual experiences were of absorbing interest. Even the women took to preaching. Quaker women were far from the first to preach, and many of the women of the dissenting sects had accustomed the public to hear their voices. Women gained at this period social position and moral respect which they never lost, but it was altogether due to the power and truth of their spiritual convictions, and not at all to their intellectual attainments or to any recognition of them, and female education was at a deplorably low ebb. It was the ambition of Addison and Steele to take literature out of the coffee houses and taverns into the home. It will never be known how much the devout women who reformed the seventeenth century homes by increasing household comforts and stimulating moral effort prepared unconsciously the way for the literary period that came with the dawn of the eighteenth century. Woman's activity in the family made home pleasant, and checked the coarseness and brutality of the earlier, more communal life, which was destroyed in the seventeenth century, the only survivals being the hunt and church-going. Dr. Simon Patten says that the introduction of the teapot and the bathtub are important elements in the civilization of this period, a statement which we are not prepared to deny. This, then, is our very sketchy English background.

I shall not enlarge upon the motives which actuated the Quakers in coming overseas. That has been better done elsewhere. We know that William Penn's description of the recently divided Jerseys (1676), called "A Description of New West Jersey," had determined many to emigrate.² But fearing that they had painted the attractions of the new territory in too highly colored language the three original proprietors, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, sent out a "Caution." They explained that they offered the purchase of land first to the Friends, so

"that if any of them, though particularly those that being low in the world, and under trials about a comfortable livelihood for themselves and families, should be desirous of dealing for any part or parcel thereof, that they might have the refusal. . . . As for the printed paper sometime since set forth . . . as a description of that province, we say as to two passages in it, they are not so clearly and safely worded as ought to have been; particularly, in seeming to limit the *winter* season to so short a time; when on further information we hear it is sometime longer and sometime shorter than therein expressed; and the last clause relating to liberty of conscience, we would not have any to think, that it is promised or intended to maintain the liberty of the exercise of religion by force and arms; though we shall never consent to any the least violence on conscience; yet it was never designed to encourage any to expect by force of arms to have liberty of conscience fenced against invaders thereof. . . . We cannot but repeat our request unto you, that

² The originals may be seen at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

in whomsoever a desire is to be concerned in this intended *plantation*, such would weigh the thing before the Lord, and not headily or rashly conclude on any such remove; and that they do not offer violence to the tender love of their near kindred and relations, but soberly and conscientiously endeavor to obtain their good wills, the unity of friends where they live; that whether they go or stay, it may be of good favour before the Lord (and good people), from whom only can all heavenly and earthly blessings come.”³

The fame of the new adventure was spread over all England. I have examined many papers in this connection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, especially, and found among the great mass of anti-Quaker literature of the time many skits and caricatures of the emigrants, whose purposes and motives were of course misunderstood. Some of them are unprintable. One doggerel runs—

“To New Jersey with speed
Come all Friends that need
Wealth or large possessions:
The Indians we’ll make
To serve us and Quake,
And be slaves to our professions.”

William Penn and his partners sent instructions ahead. James Wasse (who, however, soon returned home “in Samuel Groome’s ship” in 1675), Richard Hartshorne and Richard Guy were in the Jerseys some time before the Burlington settlers arrived. Hartshorne had come to East Jersey locating at Middletown, in 1669. The letter of the Proprietor to them, addressed to R. Hartshorne, is most interesting, and is in a way prophetic: “Go up the river as far as over against New Castle, or further if you can, so far as a vessel of a hundred tun can go; for we intend to have a way cut across the country to Sandy Hook: so the further up the way, the shorter. And there, upon some creek or bay, in some healthy ground, find out a fit place to make a settlement for a town and then go to the Indians and agree with them for a tract of land about the said place of twenty or thirty miles long, more or less, as you see meet, and as broad as you see meet. . . . Then lay out four or five thousand acres for a town.” William Penn may have meant to “cut a way” through the forest only, but with the present agitation for the ship canal, his statement sounds startlingly modern.

The town was actually laid out by Richard Noble. It was not an uninhabited country to which the Quakers came, since East Jersey had been settled long before by Dutch and English, and four towns were well established as early as 1669 at Shrewsbury, Middletown, Newark, and Elizabeth, and we recall Fox’s visit in 1672. Moreover, when they sailed up the Delaware, they passed the settlements of the Swedish colonists, of whom one of our members, Henry D. Paxson, has so interestingly told us. John Fenwicke had settled in Salem in 1675, and William Penn had been peace-maker in two years of dispute between him and Edward Byllinge, whose

³ Samuel Smith, *The History of . . . New Jersey*, 1765, pp. 90 ff.

creditor he was. It was this act of the peacemaker that caused Penn's interest in New Jersey, when the importunity of the other creditors prevailed on him to join them.

It is tempting to follow the details of the settlement. Yorkshire and London furnished the chief numbers. The first ship from London was a vessel whose name we do not know. The passengers were landed lower down the Delaware. The Penn partners had written, "we do not like the tract John Fenwicke hath bought, . . . but would have thee and Friends there take up a place on some creek or river that may lie nearer you." The picturesque account of the sailing of the ship "Kent" from London, which reached Newcastle "10 June, 1677," is familiar to most of us. The King's blessing was, we hope, appreciated by the passengers, although he was doubtless glad to be rid of them! On landing they took time to explore the surrounding country, and the description of George Fox, who had crossed the Delaware at Matiniconk Island in 1672, was probably in their minds. Indeed it is perfectly possible that to the recommendation of that far-seeing Founder, Burlington may owe its location. It fell to the Yorkshire men to name the town, for the ship "Martha" of Bridlington sailed from Hull and joined the first comers before the year ended, giving their own home name to the new settlement. Smith tells us that New Beverly was in mind at first, but the market town on the North Sea was chosen. Remains of a rich priory, founded by a grand nephew of William the Conqueror, may still be seen there. York is twenty-four miles away, and one mile from the town is its seaport, Bridlington Quay, with a bathing place and a chalybeate spring. There is reason to suppose that the "Kent" sailed from Kingston-upon-Hull, on the west bank of the Hull where it joins the Humber, twenty miles from its mouth. Third port of the Kingdom, it was the Parliamentary and municipal borough of the East Riding and many of the Yorkshire Friends had interests at the port. The present spelling (Bridlington) is the Yorkshire pronunciation of Burlington.

With perfect truth it can be said that New Jersey acquired all her lands by treaty and fair dealing with the Indians. There were eight chiefs at one of the conferences held, among them the old chief Ockanickon, whose funeral was attended by a great concourse of his own people and of the Quakers, and whose body lies in the graveyard behind this house. Others were Caponokous, who lived near Fallsington; Nimmahoe and Mahamickwon. The settlers were surrounded by Indians, who brought them all manner of game, fish, corn and skins, and with whom they never had a quarrel. Thomas Foulke appears to have been a skilful interpreter, and the Swedish settlements furnished Lacy Cock, Peter Rambo, and Israel Helmes. It is said that the first meetings were held under the sail of the "Kent," where also James Brown and Honour Clayton were married. Within the year a Monthly Meeting was established "the 15th of ye 5mo. 1678." This year, therefore, will be the 250th anniversary of the Monthly Meeting. On the 28th of 6mo. 1681, the first Yearly Meeting for the middle colonies met at

the house of Thomas Gardiner; the main part of this house is still standing on High Street. The first curious hexagonal meeting house was begun in 1682, and a paper exists in which Charles Read, brother-in-law of James Logan and later a Crown officer, begs the original subscribers "to recollect their memories" and make prompt payment! For one hundred years the Friends worshipped in this hexagonal house. After several enlargements it was outgrown, and the present one was built in 1784. The fine old sycamores once stood in front of the hexagonal building. They stand now behind the present house, and are still handsome and enormous trees.⁴ The Clerk's table is still in use for marriages. The minute ordering it reads: "4 of 2nd. Mo. 1698. Isaac Marriot is appointed with Benjamin Wheat to provide a pine table for the use of this meeting against the next meeting."

The earliest visitors to the new settlement who have left any comment are Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, two Dutchmen sent out by the Labadists in 1679 to reconnoitre for that sect,⁵ some members of which came later to Bohemia Manor, in Maryland. They visited the "South" river, as the Delaware was then called on the old maps to distinguish it from the "North" or Hudson river. They stopped with a Quaker who had a grist mill at the Falls, probably Mahlon Stacy. Their visit to the Quaker meeting at Burlington did not please them. They were much more pleased with the Quakers' peach brandy, which evidently appealed to Dutch taste. They found the Quakers "worldly," for having Virgil and van Helmont's book on medicine on the window seat, "as if it were a common handbook!" The clapboarded houses of the English settlers are unfavorably compared with the more substantial houses ("block" houses) of the Swedes, lower down the Delaware. The English are less careful to make their houses tight, although "when it is cold and windy the best people plaster them with clay." One doubts if they entered the homes of "the best people"!

Following immediately upon the "Kent's" arrival came many small vessels from London and Yorkshire with their curious names—"ketches," "snows" and "fly-boats," vessels of 400 tons, the largest. In the four years before Penn's arrival, no less than 1,400 settlers came to the Delaware.

The Delaware River Colonization Scheme of William Penn, after his own town had started, proved equal to any great land boom of modern times. In twenty years Burlington had become a fine town. Hear what Gabriel Thomas, a visitor from England, says of it in 1698.

"Burlington is now the chieftest Town in that Country, though Salam is the ancientest: and a fine Market-Town it is, having several Fairs kept yearly in it: likewise well furnished with good store of most Necessaries for humane Support, as Bread, Beer, Beef, and Pork; as also Butter and Cheese, of which they freight several Vessels and send them to Barbadoes, and other Islands. . . . [Burlington] is the principal place, by reason that the late Governor Cox, who bought that Countrey of Edward Billing, encouraged and promoted that Town

⁴ See frontispiece.

⁵ *Journal of a Voyage to New York, and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-80*, Eng. Trans., 1867, pp. 172 ff.

chiefly, in setting his Agents and Deputy-Governors there, (the same favours are continued by the New-West-Jersey Society, who now manage Matters there) which brings their Assemblies and chief Courts to be kept there; and, by that means it is become a very famous Town, having a great many very stately Brick Houses in it, (as I said before) with a delicate great Market-House, where they keep their Market: It hath a noble and spacious Hall over-head, where their Sessions is kept, having the Prison adjoining to it.

"Likewise in the said Town there are very many fine Wharfs and large Timber yards, Malt-Houses, Brew-Houses, Bake-Houses, and most sorts of Trades-Men (whose Wages are upon the same foot with the Pensilvanians) viz: Cloth-Workers, who make very good Serges, Druggets, Crapes, Camblets (part silk or Worsted, and part Camels Hair) and good Plushes, with several other Woollen Cloathes, besides Linnen. . . .

"A ship of Four Hundred Tuns may Sail up to this Town in the River Delaware; for I myself have been on Board a Ship of that Burthen there: and several fine Ships and Vessels (besides Governor Cox's own great Ship) have been built there.

"There are also two handsom Bridges to come in and out of the Town, called London and York-Bridges. The Town stands in an Island, the Tide flowing quite round about it. There are Water-Men who constantly Ply their Wherry Boats from that Town to the City of Philadelphia in Pensilvania and to other places."⁶

Some day I hope one of our historians may be moved to search into the relations between the Germantown mystics of the Wissahickon and the Burlington Friends. That there was a certain amount of intercourse from the beginning seems clear. (This, however, was without effect of a serious nature on the Quakers. Governor Pennypacker is authority for the following incident: "Henry Bernhard Koster, born at Blumenburg in Germany 1662, and educated at the University of Frankfurt, was one of the remarkable men of parts and character who made the settlement of Germantown near Philadelphia a matter of national importance. The arrival of the German mystics in this country followed close upon the division among the Quakers, due to the preaching of George Keith. When Koster began to preach in the English language, he had a large following among the separatists." Koster's success finally led him astray, and he developed into what we should regard as a first class crank, in days too, when cranks were more numerous and less conspicuous than now! We are told that in 1696, taking six others of the German Mennonites with him, he went, as their custom was, to the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, where there were in attendance about four thousand people and thirty ministers. He asked to be heard, but no attention was paid to him. Finally, while one of the preachers who had a weak voice was holding forth, Koster spoke at the top of a stentorian pair of lungs while the Friends tried to prevent him.⁷

⁶ Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey in America*, 1698 (reprinted 1848), pp. 15-19.

⁷ S. W. Pennypacker, *Settlement of Germantown*, 1899, pp. 220-221; cf. J. F. Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, 1895, pp. 267-272.

It is unnecessary to repeat here his ranting against what he called the "blasphemous" teachings of Quakerism, but when he was forcibly taken from the meeting house, he held forth from the steps of the Court House, haranguing the crowd. His own account of this affair was printed in New York the next year by Bradford, and Dr. Sachse points out that this work, of which no copy is now known to exist, was the first book printed in German in America.

Many enthusiastic letters home, from which it is a temptation to quote, still exist in praise of the new country. "I like the place well," said one; "Its like to be a healthful place, and very pleasant to live in." "It is a country," writes another, "that produceth all things for the support and sustenance of man." "Whatever envy or evil spies may speak of it, I could wish you all here," declared a third.⁸ Not lightly did they speak. Many of them had lain in loathsome jails, and Joseph Besse has described their sufferings. They had proved their devotion; had borne their persecutions faithfully. They declared, as had William Penn for them, that they were not fleeing to escape trials they were called upon to endure. Justified by their years of hardship, now they longed for the wider outlook which provided a secure home for their children in the future. "I wish," wrote one of their number years later, "I wish that they that come after may remember these things."⁹

It was not commercialism which established them so firmly in the new world. The trading spirit, strangely enough, has never yet sufficed for efficient colonization. They called their towns after the dear old names of their birthplaces—one reason that the Indian names do not so often appear—Northampton, Chester, Mansfield, Evesham, Burlington. Men of good repute and comfortable estate, they did not leave their English homes without a sigh. "O remember us," they write, "for we cannot forget you. Many waters cannot quench our love, nor distance wipe out the deep remembrance. . . . Though the Lord hath been pleased to remove us far away from you, or to the ends of the earth, yet you are present with us. Your exercises are ours; our hearts are dissolved in remembrance of you."

RESOLUTION OF THE DIRECTORS

The Board of the Friends' Historical Association have heard with regret of the death of William A. Cooper on 12 mo. 29, 1927. His interest in the work of this Association, his cheerful spirit and helpful suggestions will be greatly missed by the Board and members. We extend our deep sympathy to his family.

⁸ Samuel Smith, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII.

⁹ Mary Murfin, wife of Daniel Smith, the elder. MS. quoted by Henry Armitt Brown, Bicentennial address, Burlington, 1877.

DOCUMENTS

THE DISOWNMENT OF JOHN BARTRAM

The disownment by Darby Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, in 1758, of John Bartram (1699-1777) has a place of historic importance not only because of the prominence of the man, the self-made, pioneer American botanist, but also because it foreshadows, seventy years in advance, the Great Separation in American Quakerism. Disownments in the eighteenth century were numerous enough, both for offences that seem to us quite venial and for offences that reveal an astonishing laxity of moral observance among the Young Friends of those days. But cases of "heresy" appear in the records with extraordinary rarity. Evidently the views held by John Bartram concerning Christ met far less response in his day than did the somewhat similar views of Elias Hicks two generations later. The case of John Bartram indicates therefore both the existence of such views at the early date and the fact that they were then regarded as novel, unorthodox and unique. The minutes of the meeting that disowned him reveal no sympathizers with his views, though they show the usual deliberation and forbearance on the part of Friends. No other like testimonies were issued by that meeting, yet by 1828 a large proportion of the membership of the same meeting had insensibly moved to the position in which they were ready to accord with the doctrines of Elias Hicks.

Apart from the documents presented below, some information about John Bartram's religious opinions can be gleaned elsewhere. He was born and educated among Friends. In adult life his closest friends were Friends.¹ Both of his wives were members of the Society. When he travelled on botanical journeys he was entertained by Friends. He followed willingly the advice of members of the Society in emancipating his slaves. Even after his disownment he attended Friends' meeting not only with his family but even with his slaves.

The last statement about him appears to be justified by a very interesting account of him published by J. Hector St. John (St. John de Crevecoeur).² It purports to be a letter written by a Russian gentleman, Iwan Alexiowitz, describing a visit to the Pennsylvania botanist in the year 1769. Possibly

¹ See *inter alia* R. Hingston Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends*, 1919, Chapter XIII; *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, 1915, pp. 145 ff.; Norman G. Brett-James, *The Life of Peter Collinson* [1925], pp. 124 ff. The life of Bartram undertaken by Carlotta Herring-Browne has not materialized.

² *Letters from an American Farmer*, London, 1782; French edition, enlarged, Paris, 1787. The letter about Bartram has been reprinted in W. Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall*, Philadelphia, 1849, pp. 45 ff.; Mary S. Wood, *Social Hours with Friends*, 1867, pp. 143 ff.; *Wood's Household Magazine*, October, 1871.

Whereas by the prevalence of a report concerning John Bartram, (who had his birth and education amongst friends and made profession with us from his youth up to this time) viz that he disbelieved in the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as being perfectly God, as well as man, it became the tender concern of friends to enquire of him, whether he had given occasion for such a report by believing and uttering as above, the which, he did not deny but rather appeared to vindicate, and notwithstanding our earnest labour of Love from time to time cannot be prevailed with to decline such a belief and by publick testimony clear our Society from the great reproach of being unsound in the Christian faith, Wherefore fully believing in the Miraculous Conception, Birth, Miracles death, Glorious Resurrection, and Ascension of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as recorded in Holy writ: we can do no less for the clearing of truth, than give forth this testimony against such ~~dark notions~~ dark notions and hereby declare the said John Bartram, to be no member of our Christian Society untill by unfeigned repentance he renounce his corrupt ~~notions~~ ^{opinions} and witness forgiveness for the same, the which we sincerely desire he may

Given forth by Our Monthly Meeting
held at Darby the 1 day of the 1st mo 1758
and on behalf and by Order of the same
Signed, ————— By Abram Bosfall tth

Facsimile of Letter of Disownment of John Bartram as prepared by the Committee but corrected before adoption by the Meeting. (Cut prepared from photograph taken by Gilbert Cope. Print loaned by Albert Cook Myers.)

the "Russian gentleman" is a pure literary invention, and the account may be considerably idealized, but it assumes of Bartram the plain speech and the religious piety of a Friend and refers explicitly to attending the meeting of the Society "at the town of Chester, whither the whole family went, in two wagons; Mr. Bartram and I on horseback." The writer of the account even if it was St. John himself³ was evidently not unfamiliar with John Bartram.

His son, William Bartram, writing after his death⁴ speaks of his religious views as follows: "His mind was frequently employed and he enjoyed the highest pleasure in the contemplation of nature, as exhibited in the great volume of creation. He generally concluded the narratives of his journeys with pious and philosophical reflections upon the majesty and power, the perfection and the beneficence, of the Creator.

"He had a high veneration for the moral and religious precepts of the Scriptures, both old and new. He read them often, particularly on the Sabbath day: and recommended to his children and family the following precept, as comprehending the great principles of moral duty in man: Do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before God."

William Bartram refers also to the distich engraved on a stone and still quite readable over the front windows of his study:

IT IS GOD ALONE ALMYTY LORD
THE HOLY ONE BY ME ADOR'D
JOHN BARTRAM 1770

Contrary to a local tradition, this inscription cannot be regarded as a cause of his disownment. The date is twelve years later. But its sentiments are consonant with the views which Friends had found offensive. Forty years before when he built his house he inscribed in a stone on another wall the Greek words ΘΕΟΣ ΣΩΖΩ. But whether these words, which, if grammatically correct, say, "I God save," were meant to be an expression of his special later protest is not clear.

From his writings on paper some further confirmation of his position can be ascertained, though Darlington, their editor, has probably omitted many of the less orthodox passages. From the printed remains one learns that he was a zealous opponent of slavery and wrote profusely about it.⁵ His attitude on war was not so Quakerly. In January, 1747-1748 when the colonists were expecting an attack from the French the following spring and were preparing against it he wrote very vigorously against non-resistance:

"The clergy exerts their talents with all their force of eloquence to persuade their hearers to defend their country, liberties and families

³ St. John implies nearly as much in a letter written in 1783 to the sons of John Bartram. See Wm. H. Dillingham, *Tribute to the Memory of Peter Collinson*, 2d edition, 1852, pp. 12 f. note.

⁴ Barton's *Medical and Physical Journal*.

⁵ *Memorials of Bartram and Marshall*, p. 41. The present writer has not, however, seen the papers referred to in evidence.

by the sword and the blessing of God, but our Society like fools or something worse opposeth them by pamphlets, persuation and threats of reading them out of our meetings for breach of our discipline in taking up of carnal weapon, which unreasonable proceeding I suppose hath made one hundred hipocretes to one convert for they can't bind the freedom of thought."⁶

Evidently he had more sympathy with the colonies in their wars, first against the Indians and then against the British, than had his English Quaker correspondents, Peter Collinson and his son.⁷ For while he sympathized with the American revolutionists and must just before his death have suffered acute fear for himself and his garden with the approach of the British after the Battle of the Brandywine, the Indians were always a menace to the safety of his travels. In 1743 he went with an interpreter to Onondaga to make peace between the English and the Six Nations.⁸ In 1763 he wrote, "Unless we bang the Indians stoutly, and make them fear us, they will never love us, nor keep peace with us."⁹ Two years before on the eve of departure on a botanizing expedition beyond "the back inhabitants" he wrote, "I hope to set out to search myself, if the barbarous Indians dont hinder me (and if I die a martyr to Botany, God's will be done:—His will be done in all things)."¹⁰

The pious resignation of these last words occurs elsewhere in his correspondence, and in like manner the corresponding gratitude for God's favors. There is also, as his son suggests, frequent expression of his wonder at nature, whether as in the long and beautiful passage written to Dr. Garden in 1762,¹¹ or as in the words to his friend Peter Collinson the same year: "My head runs all upon the works of God, in nature. It is through that telescope I see God in his glory."¹²

Of course such expressions are compatible with the strictest orthodoxy of Quakerism. But they are also compatible with deism and unitarianism. The editor of 1849 has omitted the more negative aspects of Bartram's religion. In one passage a bit of liberal polemic has been allowed to stand. It is in a somewhat playful controversy concerning books (1737–1742). In reply to Bartram's request for some further books on botany Collinson had courteously declined partly on the ground of the expense, but with the words, "Remember Solomon's advice; in reading (*sic*) of books there is no end." Bartram replied: "I take thy advice about books very kindly—although I love reading such dearly: and I believe if Solomon had loved women less, and books more, he would have been a wiser and happier man than he was." Later Collinson sent him a suit of clothes "being a drugget

⁶ Original letter at Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Bartram Papers, I. 19, but this part was omitted by Darlington, p. 180 at the bottom.

⁷ *Memorials of Bartram and Marshall*, pp. 253–262; 459–460.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 256, cf. 255.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 398 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

coat, black waistcoat, and shagg breeches," and a copy of Barclay's *Apology*. Bartram's reply as far as it is printed is as follows:

"I am greatly obliged to thee for thy necessary present of a suit of clothes, which just came in the right time; and Barclay's *Apology* I shall take care of, for thy sake. It answers thy advice, much better than if thee had sent me one of Natural History or Botany, which I should have spent ten times the hours in reading of, while I might have laboured for the maintenance of my family. Indeed I have little respect to apologies and disputes about the ceremonial parts of religion, which often introduce animosities, confusion, and disorders of the mind—and sometimes body too: but dear Peter, let us worship the one Almighty Power, in sincerity of heart, with resignation to His divine will,—doing to others as we would have them do to us, if we was in their circumstances. Living in love and innocency, we may die in hope. . . ." ¹³

The origin of Bartram's untraditional views scarcely needs explanation. His times, his own independent piety, and his love of nature provided the materials for the making of a "Hicksite" before Elias Hicks. Deism had established itself in Europe and scarcely confined its influence in America to the learned class, to which Bartram himself did not belong. It is true he had acquaintances like "Friend Benjamin" (Franklin) in high and cultivated circles that might be suspected of an intellectual and worldly heterodoxy. It was rather his trend to a "natural religion" that turned his mind away from the accepted views of revelation of God in history to the revelation in nature. In the latter he had a most devout belief, and he could well have appropriated the words of Pope which it is said he inscribed over the door of his greenhouse:

"Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
But looks through Nature up to Nature's God."

And concerning this, as other matters, John Bartram was apparently quite vigorous in expression and outspoken,—at least if we may judge his conversation by his correspondence. Hence the breach with his monthly meeting when he was nearly sixty years of age.

Through the kindness of our fellow member, Morgan Bunting, of Darby, Pennsylvania, we are able to present the following transcript from the Minutes of Darby Monthly Meeting of Friends, and a facsimile copy of the official letter of disownment. The case is mentioned every month for fifteen months.¹⁴ Attention may be called to the changes made in the original

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 159. Darlington has omitted from the original (Bartram Papers, I, p. 42) the final sentence: "then if we dont go to heaven, I believe we shant go to hell." Compare the unpublished letter (*loc. cit.*, I, p. 23, July 22, 1741) in which he speaks strongly against Whitefield's doctrine of reprobation, in connection with the latter's plan for a colony in America and his presumed intention to "teach the negroes to think themselves better than their masters."

¹⁴ MS. Minutes, Vol. I, pp. 417-439.

copy of the letter of disownment as prepared by the committee before it was adopted by the meeting. Evidently it was felt that "blasphemous" was too strong a word for describing Bartram's "dark notions" and that the word "opinions" was less odious than "heresies." (See page 17.)

5 mo. 4, 1757. The overseers entered a complaint against John Bartram for disbelieving in Christ as the Son of God and having been desired to attend at this meeting to account for his disorderly belief. But he not attending, therefore Samuel Bunting, Benjamin Lobb, Isaac Pearson and William Parker are appointed to treat with him on account of his said unbelief and put him upon attending at next Monthly Meeting and make report of their proceedings therein at next Monthly Meeting.

6 mo. 1, 1757. John Bartram being at this meeting and after some discourse upon the affair complained of last meeting. It is thought proper to defer the consideration thereof till next Meeting.

7 mo. 6, 1757. This meeting taking the affair of John Bartram under consideration, and it not appearing to this Meeting but that the complaint made by the Overseers against him is truth, and the report of the Friends appointed to visit him having been omitted at last Monthly Meeting, Therefore this meeting orders that the former friends with William Horne and Abraham Bonsall visit him again and in the spirit of Meekness labour with him that if possible he may be brought to Believe in Christ the Saviour of the World & make report how far their labour of love hath succeeded, at next Monthly Meeting.

8 mo. 3, 1757. The friends appointed to visit John Bartram and labour with him in the spirit of meekness to turn from the spirit of unbelief, reports that according to their appointment they have visited him but could not prevail upon him to believe in the Divinity of Jesus Christ but to the contrary that altho he was endowed with the power of God he was no more than man. Therefore under some consideration further proceeding in this affair is left to the consideration of next Monthly Meeting.

9 mo. 7, 1757. The affair of John Bartram being reconsidered and there appearing to be a tender regard in the Meeting not only for his present but also for his future happiness. Under these considerations further proceedings in that affair is left to our next Monthly Meeting.

10 mo. 5, 1757. John Bartram's Case coming again under the Consideration of this Meeting and he tho in his absence tenderly treated and some friends signifying that they had an Expectation that he would attend this Meeting. Under those Considerations further proceeding is delayed another month.

11 mo. 2, 1757. Enoch Bonsall and David Gibson signified their freedom to visit John Bartram and its agreed to that they visit him and make report at next Monthly Meeting whether he hath any intention to condemn his disorderly conduct respecting his belief in Jesus Christ or not.

12 mo. 7, 1757. The friends agreed to at last Monthly Meeting to visit John Bartram reported that they had visited him but that he did not seem in any disposition of mind to condemn his contrary belief to ours respecting Jesus Christ but still persists therein so far as to say the longer he lives the of the friends appearing nor any account sent on the affair Therefore this meeting appoints Thomas Canby and William Horne to Draw a Testification against him and produce it at next Monthly Meeting for approbation and signing.

1 mo. 4, 1758. William Horne & Thomas Canby having been appointed at last Monthly Meeting to draw a testification against John Bartram and produce the same at this Meeting for their approbation and signing, but neither

of the friends appearing nor any account sent on the Affair Therefore this Meeting appoints Isaac Pearson to acquaint them that they are expected to perform that Service against next Monthly Meeting and make known their reasons for not attending this Meeting.

2 mo. 1, 1758. The friends appointed to draw a Testification against John Bartram produced one which was approved of and by order of the Monthly Meeting signed by the Clerk. James Serrill and John Garrett are appointed to serve him with a copy of the Testification against him, if he require it and acquaint him of his right of appeal.

3 mo. 1, 1758. The friends appointed to serve John Bartram with a copy of the Testification against him reported that they had served him with a copy thereof and acquainted him with his right of appeal, and that he informed them he did not intend to appeal, further proceeding in that affair is left to the Consideration of the next Monthly Meeting.

4 mo. 5, 1758. Further proceeding in John Bartram affair is left to the consideration of next Monthly Meeting.

5 mo. 3, 1758. John Bartram's Testification is left over for the consideration of next Monthly Meeting.

6 mo. 7, 1758. John Bartram's Testification coming again under the consideration of this Meeting and after a weighty deliberating thereon it is ordered that it be read publicly by the Clerk at the breaking up of a first-day meeting and that he make report thereof at next Monthly Meeting.

7 mo. 5, 1758. The Clerk reported that he had read John Bartram's testification at the breaking up of a first day Meeting agreeable with the order of last Monthly Meeting, which is as follows:

"Whereas by the prevalence of a report concerning John Bartram (who had his birth and education amongst friends and made profession with us from his youth up to this time) viz. that he disbelieved in the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as being perfectly God as well as man, it became the tender concern of friends to enquire of him whether he had given occasion for such a report by believing and uttering as above, the which he did not deny but rather appear'd to vindicate, and Notwithstanding our earnest Labour of Love from time to time Cannot be prevailed with to decline such a belief and by publick testimony Clear our Society from the great reproach of being unsound in the Christian faith.

Wherefore fully believing in the Miraculous Conception birth Miracles death Glorious Resurrection and Assention of our blessed lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as recorded in holy writ; we can do no less for the Clearing of truth than give forth this testimony against such dark notions and hereby declare the said John Bartram to be no member of our Christian Society Untill by Unfeigned repentance he renounce his Currupt opinions and witness forgiveness for the same the which we sincerely desire he may.

Given Forth by Our Monthly Meeting
held at Darby the 1 day of the 2 m^o 1758
and on behalf and Order of the same
Signed—By Abra^m Bonsall

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ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS

The American Friend

—"Gradual Development of Irish Quakerism," by Isabel Grubb, of Rathgar, Ireland. This article gives a brief historical sketch of the Society of Friends in Ireland, as well as an account of their present activities. "Although the links between English and Irish Quakerism are close, the group of Friends in Ireland are not a part of London Yearly Meeting, but have had their own organization since the earliest days of the Society. . . . The Yearly Meeting which was held in Dublin last May proved that Irish Quakers though few in number, still form a living organization, taking an interest in affairs outside Ireland as well as those more closely connected with the country itself."—10 mo. 6, 1927, p. 672.

—Account of the dedication of the new building erected by the Friends at Empire, South Dakota.—10 mo. 6, 1927, p. 676.

—In telling of the opening of the Friends Center in Boston, Benjamin Gerig recalls some of the interesting incidents connected with the beginnings of Quakerism in New England. When Mary Fisher and Ann Austin landed in Boston in 1656, the first Quakers ever to set foot on American soil, they little realized that they were starting a new chapter in the history of the Society of Friends. But from that time onward, in spite of persecutions and discouragements, Quakerism survived in New England, and as early as 1661 a Yearly Meeting was established, antedating even the granting of a charter to William Penn for the founding of "Penn's Woodland."

"A Friends Center at 120 Boylston Street, overlooking the spot on the Common where the early Friends were executed, is the result of the hopes and concerns of many New England Friends. It will be the center of Friends' work in Boston and we hope will be used by all Friends of New England and those who wish to know them better."—10 mo. 20, 1927, p. 708. —See also *The Friend* (Phila.), 10 mo. 20, 1927, p. 212.

—The Five Years Meeting number of *The American Friend* gives a very comprehensive and interesting account of the sessions held at Richmond, Indiana, Tenth Month 18th–24th, 1927. There is a general story in outline of the meetings, a list of the delegates, the new boards and officers appointed, as well as pictures of some of the Friends and delegations in attendance.—11 mo. 3, 1927, p. 735 ff.—See also *The Friend* (London), 11 mo. 18, 1927, p. 1041, and 12 mo. 2, 1927, p. 1077.

—Account of the life and ministry of Charles N. Replogle, who died at Lynn, Mass., on 10 mo. 8, 1927. Besides mentioning his invaluable services to many Yearly Meetings in America, this article tells of his faithful ministry among the primitive people of Alaska. "Pioneering is almost a lost art, but of Daniel Boone figure was Charles N. Replogle, always on the

frontier, pushing the Gospel outposts into remote neglected areas. In Alaskan fields untouched by Christianity he builded and organized, content only to press on, taking up new claims for Christ. Unwearied he went from strength to strength; Yearly Meetings in large number have felt the quickening touch of this valiant servant of Truth."—11 mo. 17, 1927, p. 783. —See also *The Friend* (Phila.), 11 mo. 24, 1927, p. 270.

—"Past and Present at Salem" is the title of an article which tells of the historic beginnings of Quakerism in Iowa. As far as is known now, the first Friend to settle in Iowa was Isaac Pidgeon, who came there from South Carolina in 1835, located his claim, and built a log house at Little Cedar Creek, about a mile and a half from the present town of Salem. Other Friends soon settled in the same vicinity, and by 1838 a monthly meeting was established at Salem, the first meeting of the Society of Friends west of the Mississippi River. On 11 mo. 6, 1927, the present church at Salem was re-dedicated with appropriate services.—11 mo. 24, 1927, p. 805.

—Benjamin Johnson, one of the best-known residents of Richmond, Indiana, died at his home there on 12 mo. 5, 1927. Although he was born in Ohio and received most of his education in that state, he came to Richmond as a very young man and from that time on was very closely associated with the spiritual life and business affairs of that community. He was a member of the Eighth Street Friends Meeting, and served that meeting in many capacities from the time of its organization in 1865. "At the sessions of Indiana Yearly Meeting he was a regular attendant, and it was a matter of distinct pride with him that he had attended every session at some time or other since 1854." In business circles in Richmond, he was very well known and respected. "His day had been long but full of worthy deeds and at its close a large circle of friends felt glad that they had known this Christian gentleman and were better for the fellowship."—12 mo. 15, 1927, p. 854.

—William E. Wilson, tutor and professor at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England, has prepared an article giving an outline of some of the main points of the development of the Society of Friends in England, and suggesting lines of development for the future. In conclusion he says: "I can see a great future before the Society of Friends in England, a future of hearty coöperation with other Christians in all things that make for the common good, a great and increasing propaganda for peace and internationalism, an emphasis upon the social meaning of Christianity, and on many other things that are good and right."—2 mo. 23, 1928, p. 128.

—One of the interesting features of that popular recreation resort, Atlantic City, is the Quaker influence which is signalized by the predominant Quaker motif in the hotels there. Many of the large Boardwalk hotels were founded by Quakers and are still operated by them. The reason for this is hard to understand, but "perhaps the underlying Friendly ideal of service offers an explanation; not merely the somewhat conven-

tional commercial 'service' that is talked of so glibly, but the service that is enriched by the warm personal concern which expresses itself by going the second mile. It must be for some such reason as this and for the atmosphere they carry, that these Quaker-owned hotels are almost invariably chosen as the meeting places for so many of the religious and educational interdenominational conferences that gather so frequently at Atlantic City." Besides their influence through the hotels, Friends have taken a prominent part in the activities of the community through their meetings for worship, their school and their participation in city organizations.—3 mo. 1, 1928, p. 151.

—Douglas L. Parker writes of his experiences in attending the sessions of South Tamaulipas Quarterly Meeting at Xicotencatl, Mexico, in Second Month, 1928. The most important action taken at this meeting was the decision to change from a Quarterly Meeting to a six months meeting, one meeting to be held at Easter time and the other in the first half of Tenth Month. This change is to be made on account of the extent of the field and the great distance that has to be traveled by those in attendance.—3 mo. 8, 1928, p. 168.

—On 2 mo. 29, 1928, a beautiful service was held in the chapel of Earlham College in memory of Joseph Moore (1832-1905), founder of the Joseph Moore Museum, former President of the College, and beloved teacher for so many years. Eloquent tribute was expressed in appreciation of his many services to the College by former students and teachers, after which Allen D. Hole, Curator of the Joseph Moore Museum, threw interesting pictures on the screen showing the scope of Joseph Moore's work in establishing and building up the Museum.—3 mo. 8, 1928, p. 174.—See also *Friends' Intelligencer*, 3 mo. 10, 1928, p. 190.

Friends' Intelligencer

—A series of articles on the Separation of 1827-1828 begins in the issue of 10 mo. 1, 1927, p. 791, and is continued each week until 12 mo. 10, 1927, p. 994. Elbert Russell, the author of these articles, first gives a general account of the state of the Society of Friends a century ago, and from this goes on to tell of the principal causes of the Separation which took place at that time. After this historical sketches are given of the lives of four Friends who were very influential in this movement, namely Elias Hicks, Samuel Bettle, John Comly, and Thomas Shillito. The concluding articles deal with the effects of the Separation and the problem of unity in the Society of Friends.

—Extracts from "The Founding of New England," by James Truslow Adams (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921). These extracts are principally on the subject of "Tolerance" and are taken from the chapter entitled, "The Defeat of the Theocracy," which contains an account of the persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts between the years 1645 and 1665.—11 mo. 5, 1927, p. 895.

—A document of great historical interest has recently been found in the collections of the Chicago Historical Society. It was discovered as a result of the researches being made into the life of William Penn by Albert Cook Myers. "This document is the proclamation of King Charles II of England 'to the inhabitants and planters of Pennsylvania in America,' announcing that he had granted a charter to William Penn on March 4, 1681, to take possession of the province of Pennsylvania."—11 mo. 19, 1927, p. 942.

—Phillips Bradley tells of the informal arrangements for meetings for worship which have been developed by the Connecticut Valley Friends. For about two years monthly meetings have been held alternately at South Hadley, Northampton and Amherst, the three centers where most of the Friends live. Besides these regular meetings, there have been week-end conferences and gatherings of special groups for the discussion of present-day problems.—11 mo. 26, 1927, p. 954.—See also *The American Friend*, 3 mo. 8, 1928, p. 172.

—An "All-Friends Quaker Centre" has been established at 437 No. Nevada Avenue, Colorado Springs, Colorado. "It is planned that this shall be the social, cultural, spiritual centre for Friends resident in Colorado Springs, and all Friends who may visit the Rocky Mountain region. It is to be a restful home for resident and transient Friends, where a quiet Quaker atmosphere will be maintained."—12 mo. 3, 1927, p. 981.

The Friend, Philadelphia

—Alfred C. Garrett has written his impressions of the World Conference on Faith and Order, held at Lausanne, Switzerland, in Eighth Month, 1927. Alfred Garrett was the representative of American Friends at this conference, and spent three weeks at Lausanne attending the sessions. He says that in spite of some sharp differences of opinion, the spirit of love and unity was maintained throughout the meetings. "In a conference of such unexampled diversity, running all the way from Catholic to Quaker, this was indeed remarkable, affording unanswerable testimony to the reality of Christianity, of the general presence of Christian love, and of the Spirit of Christ leading us."—10 mo. 6, 1927, p. 169.—See also 2 mo. 2, 1928, p. 388.

—Watson W. Dewees has written an account of an Indian Council which he attended about the year 1872 while he was visiting his parents at Tunesassa, New York. His stay there happened to coincide with the visit of Thomas Wistar and Ebenezer Worth, of the Indian Committee, who came to explain to the Indians of the Six Nations a bill which was before Congress in regard to the division of the Indian lands. The Council of the Indians with these Friends and the eloquence of Thomas Wistar are very vividly described in this article.—11 mo. 3, 1927, p. 231.

—Historical sketch of the establishment about 1730 by Quaker settlers of Maiden Creek Meeting in the northern part of Philadelphia County, now

called Berks. This article tells of the friendliness which existed between these settlers and the Indians, and in particular the kindness of one family named Parvin, whose "latch-string was always out to the Indians . . . and in severe winter weather as the bed-time lights appeared on the second floor, and the rooms below were darkened except for the flickering light from the hearth-fire, the latch was quietly lifted and a silent group of figures filed in and settled themselves around the hearth. At the first sound above when morning came, the Indians silently filed out again, leaving no trace of the group that had thankfully accepted the kindly hospitality offered."—11 mo. 3, 1927, p. 232.

—Account of the fearless conduct of Elizabeth Stirredge at the time (about 1674) when she and other Quakers were arrested and tried in court, simply for attending meetings. The jury found them "Guilty of not going to church, but not guilty of riot."—12 mo. 1, 1927, p. 278.

—Since 1915 the small group of Friends at State College, Pennsylvania, has been holding regular meetings in one of the college buildings, but within recent times the expanding needs of the meeting made it imperative that Friends should have their own building. Accordingly Friends at State College raised the necessary amount for a meeting house, ground was broken for it in Eleventh Month, 1926, and the formal opening exercises were held on Eleventh Month 6, 1927.—11 mo. 17, 1927, p. 261, and 12 mo. 1, 1927, p. 284.—See also *Friends' Intelligencer*, 10 mo. 29, 1927, p. 874.

—Historical sketch of Springfield Meeting, North Carolina, and description of the "Springfield Memorial Meeting House," built by the Friends of this meeting as "a memorial to those who had through the years contributed to the upbuilding of the meeting and community." This meeting is closely associated with the lives of Nathan Hunt, Nereus Mendenhall, Rufus P. King and many other well-known Friends.

Following this article is the address given by John C. Thomas on the occasion of the dedication of this meeting house on Fifth Month 1, 1927, at Springfield, North Carolina. It deals with the assistance given to North Carolina Yearly Meeting by "The Baltimore Association to Assist and Advise Friends of the Southern States." The author is the only survivor of the original members of the Association.—12 mo. 8, 1927, p. 290.

—Appreciation of George Vaux, Jr., written by J. Henry Bartlett.—12 mo. 8, 1927, p. 293.—See also last issue of BULLETIN, 16: 96.

—"Friends in France" is the title of an article in which Alfred Lowry gives a brief historical sketch of the Society of Friends in France, as well as telling of the present activities of the Friends' Centre in Paris. In speaking of that "wholly indigenous Quaker movement in the South of France, an outcome of that of the Camisards in the eighteenth century," he mentions the fact that "the one meeting house ever erected in France is still standing at Congenies," one of the four villages at which this movement centered.—12 mo. 29, 1927, p. 327.—See also *The American Friend*, 1 mo. 19, 1928, p. 41.

—Albert H. Votaw has written his reminiscences of Westtown School in the seventies and eighties, with special reference to the Committee having charge of the school at that time.—1 mo. 12, 1928, p. 350.

—"Some Quaker Pioneers," a paper read at Twelfth Street meeting house on 10 mo. 28, 1927, gives a brief account of some of the early Friends who "were pioneers in the realm of spiritual enterprise, cutting through the entanglements of traditional thinking, digging below the surface and exposing the roots of evil practices and making possible a general advance in thought and life."—1 mo. 26, 1928, p. 375 (and continued).

The Friend, London

—"In memory of George Cadbury, who ever sought to promote goodwill and co-operation between churches, classes and nations. This hall was built by his wife, Elizabeth Mary Cadbury, for the furtherance of this aim, and given to the Central Council of the Selly Oak Colleges." Such is the inscription surrounding the bronze bust of George Cadbury in the foyer of the hall built in his memory at Selly Oak, England. Besides being a worthy memorial of a great Friend, this hall provides a very valuable meeting place for the students attending the still growing group of Selly Oak Colleges, of which Woodbrooke is the centre.—11 mo. 4, 1927, p. 1005.

—Alfons Paquet, who is so deeply interested in the Quäkerheim at Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, has recently written a play entitled, "William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania." According to the account given by Marion C. Fox, this play was very successfully produced before a large audience at the Schauspielhaus in Frankfurt on 11 mo. 10, 1927. The action of the play "opens in Newgate after the great trial of Penn and Meade. It shows the growth of the idea of a land of freedom across the seas, and Penn's resistance to all attempts to turn him from his purpose. It brings in his connection with Frankfurt, and with the German communities who found refuge and liberty of conscience in Pennsylvania. It culminates in the great meeting with the Indians. It moves on through discouragements and the machinations of evil-doers to a peaceful close, a tragedy that is no defeat."—11 mo. 25, 1927, p. 1069.

—According to an article in the *London Times* of 11 mo. 29, 1927, English Friends at the end of the year 1792 were negotiating with the French Senate for the acquisition of the Château de Chambord and park, where it was planned to establish a home and school for children from 8 to 15 years of age. For various reasons the purchase was not made and the plan was not carried out.—12 mo. 9, 1927, p. 1130.—See also *The Friend* (Phila.), 3 mo. 8, 1928, p. 457.

—Frederick B. Sainty describes a visit which he paid to Emily Howland, a Friend of Poplar Ridge, New York, who celebrated her 100th birthday in Twelfth Month, 1927. He speaks of her surprising vigor of mind and body, and of her continuing interest in the great humanitarian causes for

which she worked so earnestly all her life. Reference is also made to the great honor which came to Emily Howland in Tenth Month, 1926, when New York University conferred upon her the degree of Doctor of Letters.—12 mo. 16, 1927, p. 1157.—See also BULLETIN, 16: 30.

—Mention is made of an article in the *South Wales News* by George A. Greenwood, entitled "Sidelights on Welsh Religious History." The writer speaks of the great loss that the Principality had suffered through the Quaker migrations from Wales in the seventeenth century. The ability of these early Friends to recognize the value of the natural resources of the country resulted in the establishment of some of the great metallurgical industries of Wales.—1 mo. 27, 1928, p. 74.

Journal of Friends Historical Society (London), Vol. 24, 1927

—Extracts from *A Journal of a Voyage from Philadelphia to Cork in the Year 1809*, by Margaret B. Harvey, with Supplement by Dora Harvey Develin (1915), are published in the *Journal* with explanatory notes. The parts quoted refer especially to the visits to Cork and Dublin of Margaret Harvey and her husband, Edward Harvey. She was greatly impressed with the elegance of the houses of the Friends, and says, "I could scarcely think I was among Friends they have so much style and grandeur in everything." In referring to the meeting house at Cork, she says "it is about as large as Pine Street [Philadelphia]. [There is a mahogany railing to the gallery and very nice with mats in the aisles." In describing the house of old Reuben Harvey at Cork she says, "It is built of red brick with white marble cornice like some of the nice houses in Philadelphia. It is very high and lofty with several large windows in front. It is thought a coach and four could turn with ease in the hall."

After visiting Cork, Edward and Margaret Harvey traveled to Dublin, and she describes it "as a grand old elegant city far surpassing Cork. The buildings are regular and magnificent, far beyond anything of the kind I ever saw. Philadelphia is quite a country town in comparison (but I do not tell any one here so)." The Harveys then traveled to Clonmel where they rented a house and lived for several months.—pp. 3-20.

—Short account of the life of Anthony Purver, a Friend, who at a very early age became interested in making a translation of the Bible in which some of the earlier inaccuracies would be avoided. He began actual work on it in 1733, when he was only 31 years old, and the first two or three portions of the revised Bible were published in Bristol in 1741. "In 1764 after the labor of thirty years Purver completed his grand work, a translation of all the books of the Old and New Testaments from their original tongues, a performance never accomplished by any one man before." Purver had some difficulty in finding a printer who was willing to take up his work, but Dr. Fothergill purchased the copyright of the manuscript for one thousand pounds and had it printed at his own expense. There are very few hints of how this "Quaker Bible" was received, but Dr. Hingston

Fox writes, "In his translation he tried to keep close to the text, but to give the sense in plain modern speech, pleading that the Scriptures needed fresh rendering from time to time in the growing language of man [thus anticipating, by many years, the work of Weymouth, Lloyd and Moffatt]. His lack of literary training rendered his style uncouth, so that his sentences ran uneasily with little euphony or poetic rhythm." Some examples of his translations are given.—pp. 31-35.

—Probably few people realize that the well-known political leader in the United States, the late "Uncle Joe Cannon," (see p. 47) was named after the great Quaker preacher from England, Joseph John Gurney. How this came about is told in a little anecdote which is quoted from an article written for *The Friend* (London), December 24, 1926, by Albert H. Votaw, of Lansdowne, Penna.—p. 36.

—In the continuation of the list of Quaker inventors, discoverers and leaders in various lines, mention is made of C. Francis Jenkins, of Washington, D. C., who has "apparently shifted the activity of his inventive genius from the cinema to that of the airplane." He has recently announced two inventions in this connection, one providing for a brake apparatus for airplanes, and the other a device to enable a plane to be launched almost instantly on one hundred feet of runway.—p. 43.

—A brief summary is given of the frequent references made to the Quakers of New Bedford and Nantucket in *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, written by Samuel Eliot Morison and published by Houghton Mifflin Company in 1921. Mention is made of the enterprise and success of the Quakers in the whaling industry, and also of the fact that the Quakers were among the first white inhabitants of Nantucket Island.—p. 43.

—Very little is known of the life of Joseph de Grellet, brother of Stephen Grellet, but an article has been prepared bringing together all the references to him in the *Memoirs of Stephen Grellet* and in other scattered sources. Joseph came to America with his brother Stephen in 1793, was associated with him in business for a while, but in 1802 he "felt it right to return to his parents in France." After this time he lived in France, with the exception of occasional sojourns in England, until his death in 1845. In regard to his connection with the Society of Friends, we know that he attended Friends' meetings with his brother Stephen after they settled in Newtown and that later he did become a member of the Society, but we have no record of the date when he was received into membership.—pp. 45-51.

Miscellaneous

—A centenary celebration was held in London in the spring of 1927 to commemorate the birth of Joseph Lister, later Lord Lister, famous surgeon and discoverer of the antiseptic method of treating wounds. Joseph Lister was born at Upton, Essex, England, on April 5, 1827, and was the

son of Joseph Jackson Lister, a wealthy Quaker merchant and inventor of what was practically the modern compound microscope. Although he was educated in and was a member of the Society of Friends, Joseph Lister left the Society and joined the Scottish Episcopal Church at the time of his marriage in 1856. He died on February 10, 1912.

It is said that Lister's discovery of antiseptic surgery saved more lives than were lost in all the wars of the century since his birth. An interesting account of the centenary celebrations held by the Royal College of Surgeons, at Westminster Abbey, and elsewhere is given in *Nature*, 119 (1927): 570-2. Other articles in regard to the Lister centenary and to his medical work are given in the following periodicals: *Hygeia*, 5 (1927): 193-4 (with portrait); *Journal des Débats*, 34 (1927): pt. 1, 608-9; *Nation*, 124 (1927): 372; *Nature*, 119 (1927): 529-31; 531-33; 606-8; 120 (1927): 161-2; *Outlook*, 145 (1927): 422-4; *Science*, 65 (1927): 318-19; 66 (1927): 267-72; *Scientific Monthly*, 25 (1927): 193-212; 26 (1928): 70-75; 24 (1927): 472 (portrait only); *Science Progress*, 22 (1927): 114-16; *Spectator*, 138 (1927): 635-6.

—An article giving an account of a trial for witchcraft in 1684, at which William Penn presided, is given in the *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 18 (1927): 11. W. R. Riddell, the writer of this article, a Justice of Appeal in Ontario, Canada, is inclined to feel that this case was handled very wisely and judiciously by William Penn. The material for this article was secured from the *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, Philadelphia, 1852.

—An interesting paper on William Penn and his attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church, read at the seventh annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in Philadelphia, Twelfth Month, 1926, is printed in full in the *Catholic Historical Review*, 7 (1927): 480. The author of this paper, St. Alban Kite, treats the subject in a very sympathetic manner, and speaks in high terms of William Penn's tolerance in allowing freedom of worship to all people. The concluding sentences of the article are as follows: "There can be no denying the fact that from the beginning of his colonial undertaking William Penn consistently upheld his principle of universal toleration of all forms of Christian belief and that in the end in England he showed himself to be a powerful friend to Catholics and in America granted them full rights of citizenship including power to hold office as well as free liberty of worship. This in itself justifies our recognition and demands the gratitude of all Catholics."

—Our member, Dr. Edward E. Wildman, contributes to the new quarterly of the School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania an article on "William Penn, Our First Curriculum Builder." He quotes passages in which Penn encouraged more study of nature and natural things and he indicates how in the city and community that Penn founded, Friends' education, public education and scientific organizations have fostered the study of science, technology and medicine. *Educational Outlook*, 1: pp. 173-180.

—The new home of the Friends in London is described by Alwyn R. Dent in an article in *The Architects' Journal*, 66 (1927): p. 671. From the many splendid illustrations accompanying this article, the reader can form a very good idea of the beauty and dignity of this new building. Hubert Lidbetter, the architect of Friends' House, has been awarded a medal by the Royal Institute of British Architects.

—In *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for Tenth Month, 1927, p. 320, there is an historical sketch by Anna L. Littleboy entitled, "The Meeting for Sufferings: Its Past and Its Present." At the time of the organization of the Meeting in 1676, its main business was the consideration of cases of Friends suffering for their principles and in what manner they might be assisted. As the years passed the character of its duties changed and new duties were added, until in 1833 the Meeting for Sufferings was expressly defined as "a standing committee of the [London] Yearly Meeting, entrusted with a general care of whatever may arise during the intervals of the Yearly Meeting affecting our religious Society and requiring immediate attention." In view of the difference in the character of its duties, suggestions have been made from time to time that the name of the Meeting be changed, but it has not seemed expedient to do so. "A new appropriateness is given to it [the name] since Friends have taken all the world for their parish; for very much of its time is spent in seeking to prevent or alleviate the sufferings of victims of war, slavery, vice and ignorance."

—In an account of some of the early makers of mathematical and scientific instruments in Philadelphia, published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 51 (1927): 289, mention is made of Andrew Ellicott, who, "while not a maker of instruments for commercial purposes, nevertheless constructed several complicated pieces for his own use." Ellicott came of English-Quaker ancestry, having been born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1754, and living there until in 1775 he went to join his father's colony at Ellicott's Mills near Baltimore, Maryland. Ellicott rendered very valuable service to his country in surveying the boundary lines of several of the states and in making the observations necessary to determine the 45th Parallel of Latitude, our Northern New York-Canadian boundary.—See also 52 (1928): 96.

In the same article there is a picture and description of a pair of wooden compasses with curved legs which were found at Pennsbury and which are said to have been brought over in the good ship "Welcome" in 1682. These compasses are very well preserved, and are now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

—An address entitled "George Keith, the Missionary," was delivered at St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J., on November 1, 1927, by the Reverend Charles S. Lewis, of Trenton, N. J., and is published in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 13 (1928): 38. Dr. Lewis spoke first of George Keith's work in the Society of Friends, touched briefly on the Keithian controversy, and later spoke of his very valuable missionary work

among the Episcopal churches in America. In summing up his remarks, Dr. Lewis said: "First and foremost Keith was a searcher after truth. And like so many of his day his steps in the search are marked by a determined effort to share his discoveries with others and to win them to what he believed to be true. It was this missionary enthusiasm, this zeal for truth which really distinguished him beyond his fellows."

—In an article on John Woolman in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 12 (1927): 436, Caroline Ladd Crew tells of her visit to York, England, which has for so long been a stronghold of Quakerism. Here she visited the Quaker meeting house which John Woolman probably attended, and Almercy Garth, the house where John Woolman died on 10 mo. 7, 1772. This house is now occupied by a great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Priestman who was John Woolman's last host.—Reprinted in *The Friend* (Phila.), 2 mo. 16, 1928, p. 414.

—Muriel Kent has written an article entitled "John Woolman: Mystic and Reformer," which is published in the *Hibbert Journal*, 26 (1928): 302. The author gives an historical sketch of the life of John Woolman, with many extracts and quotations from his *Journal*. In speaking of the beauty and consistency of his character, she says, "He held closely to the Quaker tenets, applying them to the circumstances of his own life, and the social order of his day and country, with rare courage and sincerity."

—The records of Pembrokeshire Monthly Meeting of Friends in Wales, beginning in 1699, have been written up by David Salmon and are published in the *West Wales Historical Records*, 12 (1927): 1, which is the annual magazine of the Historical Society of West Wales. Many extracts are given from the minutes of this Monthly Meeting, and at the end there is an appendix giving the names of members attending the Monthly Meeting, intended marriages, deaths and burials, emigrants to Pennsylvania, and sufferings.

—There is a beautiful little sketch in the *Outlook* (London), 60 (1927): 18, telling of the joy and peace which comes to one's soul from attending a Quaker meeting. The writer visited a small country meeting house on a lovely spring afternoon, and was much impressed by the quietness and simplicity of the gathering, as well as by the inspired words of those who spoke. And after the meeting, "So to the bustle of the world again—tempered now by the blessing of the Quaker meeting—the words of the friends of the Master."

—A visitor in Scotland gives a brief account of the various meetings of the Society of Friends in that country. While he found that some of the older meetings were smaller, yet there were many evidences of new life springing up in response to fresh leadership. One of the centers of promise is the meeting at Rutland Place, Edinburgh, which was started a few years ago by a group of Friends who felt that Quakerism had a message for the thoughtful and educated seeker after truth. This venture of faith

has justified itself and the meeting is growing rapidly.—*The Wayfarer*, 7 (1928) : 5.

—The historic Cressbrook Farm at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, recently offered by Henry N. Woolman to the University of Pennsylvania as a suitable location for its undergraduate schools, is part of a tract of land granted to David Powell by William Penn. In 1707 Powell conveyed 800 acres of this land to John Harvard, a wealthy Welshman, whose descendants have continued to live upon it until very recent times.—*General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 30 (1928) : 206.

—*The Expository Times* is not usually especially sympathetic with Friends. But its leading article for March, 1928 (Vol. 39, pp. 241 f.) illustrates the standards of the Day of Judgment expressed by the Parable of the Sheep and the Goats by appeal to the example of the Quakers after the War, and the German verb *quäkern*. "Here was a religion in whose beauty and power everyone was constrained to believe, for it was expressed not in creeds and formulæ, but in deeds of love."

NOTES AND QUERIES

On account of the absence of the Editor, Rayner W. Kelsey, who is employing part of his sabbatical leave in touring the United States, the responsibility for this volume of the BULLETIN, including this issue and the next, is with the Acting Editor, Henry J. Cadbury, of Haverford, Pennsylvania.

The annual meeting of Friends' Historical Association was held on 11 mo. 29, 1927, at the Friends' meeting house in Burlington, New Jersey. The president of the Association, Francis R. Taylor, presided, and after the formalities of reading the minutes and electing directors for the ensuing year were over, he addressed the meeting on the record of the past year and made an interesting plea for that perspective of view which will give proper order and value to events of historic importance. As this address is printed elsewhere in this BULLETIN, further resumé of it will not be given here.

The president also recalled the services of the late George Vaux, Jr., to our Association as president and director, and councillor of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, so regretfully terminated a year ago when health forced him to decline re-election, as well as his interest in many lines of civic betterment, prisons, the Indians, etc., and his services to the Society of Friends in many capacities.

The president referred also to the retirement from the Board of Directors of Lucy B. Roberts who, to the regret of all, finds it necessary in the press

of other duties to decline re-election. Her long service to the Association and to the Friends' Historical Society, on the Board and as President, were reviewed and our debt to her for the consolidation of this Association and that Society, as well as for the large growth in numbers and activity under her term of office, were mentioned.

At the conclusion of his address, the president introduced Amelia M. Gummere, who delivered an address on the social conditions in England that formed the background of the early settlers in Burlington. The address is also printed elsewhere in this BULLETIN.

When the meeting was over, the Association and Friends present were very hospitably entertained by the Friends of Burlington and Bucks Quarter. Those who served supper were appropriately costumed in the old Quaker garb, and one individual wore a pair of leather breeches reminiscent of George Fox himself.

Among the features of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the city of Burlington, New Jersey, in Tenth Month last (BULLETIN, 16: 58 f.) was an address delivered before the Burlington County Historical Society, and subsequently printed under the title "*Burlington*": *Historical Address*. Dr. Richard Mott Gummere, the author, covers a wide range of local history and of historical background. Naturally, the Quakers play an important part in the essay, a part more exclusively described by the author's mother elsewhere in the present issue of the BULLETIN.

The one hundred and thirty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Lucretia Mott was observed by a meeting at the Fair Hill Meeting House, Germantown, Pennsylvania, on First Month 3d, 1928.

Frances Blanchard, Associate Dean of Women at Swarthmore College, gave a very interesting sketch of the life of this remarkable pioneer in so many causes; and Anna Griscom, of Moorestown, N. J., spoke particularly of her work for Peace. Jane Norman Smith, National Chairman of the Woman's Party, closed with a tribute to Lucretia Mott's efforts toward the wider recognition of woman's place in the political life of America.

After the meeting, the large audience received sprigs of hemlock from the baskets held at the door, and filing across the street to the picturesque and well-kept graveyard, placed these one by one on the grave of the Quaker leader, coming away with a sense of the appropriateness of the occasion.

In a letter addressed to *Friends' Intelligencer* (11 mo. 12, 1927, p. 924), Henry W. Scarborough describes the very neglected condition of some of the older Friends' burial grounds in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and urges that steps should be taken to provide for their permanent care. It is his

suggestion that a corporation be formed to look after these semi-abandoned graveyards and to hold in trust any legacies which may have been left for their care, such a corporation to consist of members of both branches of the Society of Friends and of representatives of Friends' Historical Association. The Historical Association ought naturally to be interested in these old burial grounds because they are in reality historical monuments, and it should be able to assist in collecting funds for this purpose. Appeal could be made to members of the Society of Friends as well as to those who are descended from Friends.

The interest in early American furniture is leading the connoisseurs to a study of its makers. William Savery (1721-1787), "now the most prominently known of Philadelphia's early cabinet makers," was a Friend and the father of the minister of the same name. A contemporary Philadelphia craftsman was "Thos. Tufft, Joyner." A labelled lowboy of his work has been found manifesting excellent workmanship. There is also a series of bills for work that he did for Quaker customers, of which perhaps the most interesting is for furniture bought by Mary Norris of Fair Hill for the trousseau of her daughter Deborah (1761-1839), upon her marriage in 1781 to Dr. George Logan (1753-1821), son of William Logan and grandson of James Logan, the heir to the famous homestead called "Stenton." Two writers about Thomas Tufft in the magazine *Antiques* (vol. xii, 1927, p. 292; vol. xiii, 1928, p. 201) have suggested that he also was a Friend. Is it possible to confirm this from Quaker records? Tufft was married in 1766 and died between 1785 and 1793. His shop was on Second Street near Walnut, Philadelphia.

For more than two hundred years, English Friends have kept the graveyard at Jordans, Buckinghamshire, in excellent condition. Encroachments from the neighboring city of London now threaten to invade its privacy and destroy the very fine beech wood and park surrounding it. The movement now well under way, begun last year, to preserve this beautiful spot, will be further promoted by the formation of a Penn Memorial Union on both sides of the water, and a second visit will be made to the United States by J. Edward Hodgkin this spring, in an appeal for the support of all interested persons. Such a natural and beautiful form of tribute to the memory of the Founder of a great state is deemed far more suitable than monuments of brick or stone.

An attempt will be made to secure an appropriation from the state of Pennsylvania. All Friends are asked to assist in the effort to arouse interest in this cause. The present Treasurer for the American contributors is Jonathan M. Steere, Girard Trust Company, Philadelphia.

Original documents from a contemporary of Fox may be counted on to give background and atmosphere to a study of early Quakerism. Sir Wil-

liam Petty (1623–1687) was an unusually versatile man, an M.D., an M.P. and an original F.R.S.—interested in statistics, government, invention, navigation, religion, colonization and much beside. He was ingenious and forward looking—"fancyfull near up to madness" his contemporaries thought. Of his voluminous extant unpublished memoranda two volumes of *Petty Papers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 276 + 309 pp.) were issued in 1927 by the Marquis of Lansdowne.

A definite contact with Quakerism was Petty's friendship with William Penn, whom he knew in Ireland as early as 1669. In 1681 Penn, writing to Lady Petty, calls her husband "my ould Esop & Friend." Petty received a grant in the colony of Pennsylvania among the original purchasers as we learn much later, though his name does not appear in the "Short Advertisement" (with map and list of settlers in 1683). No subject was more emphatically advocated by Petty than religious toleration. Putting it in the manner of statisticians he wrote once that liberty of worship would increase the efficiency of labor of the sovereign's subjects about fifty per cent, "from 2 to 3 or thereabouts—which is put to bee noted." Among the influences inclining Penn to religious toleration this learned and liberal peer is perhaps to be included.

The book committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (302 Arch Street) has compiled a considerable list of publications ancient and modern concerning Quakerism printed in languages other than English. Among the latest accessions to this class of items may be noted one in Hungarian by Dr. Lajos Szimonidesz of Budapest. It is the last chapter of a two-volume illustrated history of religion entitled *A Világ Vallásai* in which the author shows that Quakerism is the climax of the development of religion.

More significant because of its greater extent and probable wider circulation is a German pamphlet, *Die Quäker*, by Dr. Konrad Algemissen (Giesel, Hanover, 1928, pp. 78). It also is a section of a larger work by the same author on "Christian Sects and the Church of Christ." The author writes from the Roman Catholic point of view, evidently for Catholic readers, and with the *imprimi permittitur* of the Church. The last third of the book is a critique of Quaker doctrine. Revolting against Protestant reliance on the Bible as the norm and source of truth, the Friends instead of returning to the authority of the Church sought it in the Inner Light. The New Testament is cited by Dr. Algemissen in support of the view that Christ entrusted his message to a limited group and their successors and established the seven sacraments, while logically and through historical examples it is argued that the principle of individual guidance leads to subjectivism and anarchy, lacks corporate divine power, and is too easily affected by sin and weakness.

The appreciation and sympathy with Quakerism expressed in the rest of the book is, in view of this fundamental objection, extraordinary. The early history and later relief work of the Society are narrated with re-

markable understanding, and, since general description alone is offered, with very few errors in detail. The spirituality, courage, sincerity, and unselfishness of Friends are praised in the highest terms. He concludes "The religious error of the Quakers is fundamental and serious. But through emphasis on and practice of a living Christianity, through rich works of faith, through their close combining of religion and life they are a solemn warning to all merely nominal and specious Christians, especially to those of the true Church." Such an enthusiastic admirer of Quaker piety and life ought if possible to be answered in the same tongue and with the same courtesy. But what are the logical and historical counter arguments?

The Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College has been fortunate in receiving a number of volumes from the library of John Greenleaf Whittier. These books cover a great variety of subjects, and come from the little library of Whittier's Danvers home, which he called "Oak Knoll." It is planned to place these volumes in a separate bookcase in the Quaker library at Swarthmore.

Among the latest acquisitions for the collection of Quakeriana in the Haverford College Library is *Bibliotheca Furliana*, Rotterdam, 1714. It is a catalogue of the books of the famous private library of Benjamin Furlly (1636-1714), containing over 4400 items. The volume is not unique: there are copies in Friends Library, London, and in the British Museum, the latter interleaved and showing the prices and purchasers of the several items. But it is invaluable for any one who is studying the reading of early Friends. Besides hundreds of Quaker books there are many of the mystics listed, though few works of science or alchemy. An orthodox German visitor to the library in 1710 described it as "an enormous stock of books, mainly *suspectae fidei*."

An English merchant, who resided in Holland, Furlly has several other claims to fame beside his learning, which showed itself in his work on the *Battledoor* in which he collaborated with George Fox and John Stubbs, and in his own polyglot publications. He was a friend of William Penn, John Locke and Algernon Sidney. Apparently he never came to America himself, though he had an interest of 5,000 acres in Pennsylvania. His main connection with America was in promoting the German immigration as William Penn's agent on the continent and an ardent advocate of toleration. It is not certain that he was a Friend throughout his later life. For example he is said to have been buried in the cathedral at Rotterdam. Accounts of him are found in J. F. Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, 1895, and in the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 11, 1914. It would be interesting to know whether any of his books reached America.

In the Autumn BULLETIN, 1927, p. 81, there was an item concerning the visit of some Indians to a Friends' Meeting at Easton, New York, about the time of the American Revolution. Our friend, Norman Penney, has since then called our attention to a reference to the event in the *Journal of Rufus Hall*, as noticed in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, London, 10 (1922): 122. Rufus Hall was the son-in-law of Zebulon Hoxie, and was apparently present at the meeting when the Indians came into it. Rufus Hall gives the date as the summer of 1777. See *Journal of Rufus Hall*, (1840), p. 17.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books of interest to Friends may usually be purchased at the following places:

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Walter H. Jenkins, Gwynedd, Pa.

Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City.

Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana.

Friends' Book Centre, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1, England.

When the price of an English book is given below in terms of American money, it means that one of the American book stores has quoted that price.

Hobhouse, Stephen. *William Law and Eighteenth Century Quakerism*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. 342. \$4.50.

Stephen Hobhouse, while examining the Walton collection of documents treating of mystical religion in Dr. Williams' Library, came upon some hitherto unpublished manuscripts of peculiar interest to Friends. In them William Law, author of *The Serious Call* and the most influential religious writer of the early eighteenth century, eloquently reasons against Quakerism. The discovery of these papers and a consequent desire to rescue from oblivion two charming characters, Dr. John Byrom, poet, and Fanny Henshaw, Quakeress, occasioned the publication of the delightful volume entitled *William Law and Eighteenth Century Quakerism*.

The documents form two groups. The first comprises a series of letters from William Law to Fanny Henshaw. Miss Fanny, aged twenty-two and in desperate straits over her soul, is about to turn Quaker to the disgust of her family and of her friend Dr. John Byrom who persuades William Law to remonstrate regarding her proposed course of action. Law argues cleverly, with all the force of his matchless English, pointing out that the Quakers are inconsistent in rejecting the sacraments while holding to much that is outward and historical. Fanny, however, resolutely and

fluently stands on the incontrovertible evidence of her own inward experience. "If truth did abide with the Quakers she hoped to do so too," and she did.

After this duel of intense souls a chapter largely taken from the journal of the amiable and witty go-between, Dr. Byrom, comes as a distinct relief. A subsequent account of the "poor bequakered party," Fanny Henshaw, in her long and successful career as a Quaker preacher, throws many interesting side lights on the quietistic and introspective middle age of Quaker history.

The second set of documents contains arguments against Quakerism which Law apparently intended to publish as part of a longer treatise, but which he suppressed, probably because he found himself gradually approaching the Quaker standpoint. Strangely enough it has remained for a Quaker to publish them. Stephen Hobhouse, however, permits Law to answer himself, by inserting in the concluding chapters a series of beautiful extracts from his later works which contain some of the finest expositions of mystical religion in the English language. In the Henshaw letters Law, the High Churchman, accepts "an outward church with outward authority and outward ministers of different powers and outward offices," but toward the close of his life he wrote, "When once thou art grounded in this inward worship thou wilt have learnt to live unto God above time and place for every day will be Sunday to thee and wherever thou goest, thou wilt have a priest, a church and an altar along with thee."

Law classes the Quakers as third "in excellency," the first being Jacob Boehme and the second the Dutch mystic Hiel. The only Quaker writings which appear to have influenced him directly are those of Isaac Penington.

A chapter on Wesley and Law brings into vivid relief the fundamental opposition between mystical and evangelical points of view. An appendix contains Law's mighty outburst against war. The book is replete with notes and footnotes, containing many new and delectable bits of information, indicative of patient research.

The thread that ties together a work which at times approaches a scrap book in character is the gradual shift in Law's emphasis from the outward to the inward. It was Jacob Boehme, the Silesian mystic of the early seventeenth century and not the Quakers who brought about this change. One wonders in reading Law's later works, particularly "The Way to Divine Knowledge," how he could so nearly approach the full meaning of Boehme's philosophy and yet just fail to plumb its profoundest depths. The antinomy of outward and inward was Boehme's central problem. He reconciles the two through an intense spiritual struggle. There is no record in this book by Hobhouse nor in Law's published works to show that he realized, as Boehme did, the terrible yet fruitful character of that contradiction. As a result of Law's easy transition from outward to inward he becomes a victim of the very "negations" of which he accuses the Quakers. In his beautiful paraphrase of Boehme's "Supersensual Life"

he has misled several historians of mysticism by making Boehme far more negative than he actually is. Like Boehme, however, Law complied with the outward rules of the Church to the very end.

William Law and Eighteenth Century Quakerism comes as fulfillment of a fervent prayer of long ago. Christopher Walton, collector of mystical literature, advertised widely throughout England about the middle of the last century for an able and understanding writer who would turn his unique collection of documents relating to Law into an "adequate biography." Unsuccessful in this search he himself printed a large part of the collection, including many strange "theosophic" writings, in a vast medley of over 700 pages of very fine print. To one who has groped in the dark depths of this rare volume and read the high hopes expressed in the advertisement which forms its introduction Walton's prayer seems at last to have found an answer in the sympathetic and scholarly work of Stephen Hobhouse.¹

HOWARD H. BRINTON

RICHMOND, INDIANA

Dorland, Arthur Garratt. *History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company, Ltd. 1927. Pp. 343. \$5.50.

As justification for this volume the author presents the fact that no one has before attempted to trace the history of the Society of Friends in Canada. He points out that early Canadian Friends "were pioneers in the field both of material and religious endeavor; and though it is difficult to estimate such a thing with exactness, they have left their impress on the life and thought of the young Canadian nation."

After the manner of the true biographer and historian, Arthur Dorland laments the paucity of original sources in the way of personal or biographical material. He reminds us that Canadian Friends were a simple agricultural folk, who wrote few letters and kept fewer diaries; that they were too busy living to keep a record of how they lived. As a result the limited amount of old manuscript records that were available had to be liberally supplemented by the records of visiting Friends from England and the United States, who recorded their impressions and whose journals form both a unique and a valuable contemporary record of conditions in Canada during the pioneer period of Quaker settlement. Had our friend not frankly admitted the handicap under which he worked in compiling this history, it might easily have been overlooked by the reader, for the book throughout gives ample evidence of wide and thoroughgoing research.

This book is indeed a history of Friends in Canada, but it is much more than that. In the first chapter a comprehensive view is given of the

¹ The editor must again express regret that such volumes are not published with an index. Norman Penney has kindly sent a MS. copy of an index which he prepared. But a printed index of only two or three pages would have added value to every copy of the book.

organization, discipline and distinctive testimonies of the Society of Friends as a whole. It offers effective background for the more detailed consideration of western American Quakerism, a background that is not only necessary for the general reader but also helpful to the Friendly one. Furthermore, preliminary to his treatment of the various distinctive phases of Canadian Quakerism, Arthur Dorland gives the general American background. Thus a broad perspective is continually established, on the basis of which Quaker developments north of the Canadian border are the more readily understood. For example there is an excellent chapter on the American background of the Quaker migration to Canada showing the general motive forces dominating the westward movement of Quakerism beyond the Alleghenies, which began shortly following the Revolutionary period. Likewise a discerning chapter on the religious separation of 1828 in America precedes that on the separation of that year in Canada.

Regarding this latter development the author says: "If in these pages, religious separations among Friends appear to have been unduly stressed, it is only because they had such a far-reaching influence on Quakerism, and also because an understanding of these separations throws considerable light on the development of religious thought on the continent of America, a phase of history that has been too little understood." In this connection Canadian Friends not only suffered the separations common to American Friends generally, but had one of their own, which while not of far-reaching importance is sufficiently distinctive to warrant a brief chapter to itself. It is entitled, "The First Religious Separation in Canada—the Children of Peace." Having carefully followed the course of Quaker history in Canada through the separation of a century ago, the author thereafter traces the activities of the Liberal and Orthodox branches in separate chapters, after which he treats of the delayed separation of 1881 when the Conservative Friends withdrew from the Orthodox group.

The last three chapters deal respectively with the general activities of Canadian Friends as a whole in the field of Philanthropy, Education and Peace. Here again, these chapters present not only the work of Canadian Friends in these areas of Friendly interest, but give a comprehensive picture of Quaker activities generally. This is especially true of the concluding chapter which outlines the united work for peace and reconciliation in which all Friends have joined during and following the Great War.

Thus apart from the interest one might have in the history of Canadian Quakerism (and the acquainting of ourselves with the various segments of American Quaker history is certainly to be encouraged) we are free to encourage the reading of this volume for the better understanding which it will give of the various phases of American Quakerism. The book is both scholarly and readable. Arthur Garratt Dorland is Professor of History in the University of Western Ontario, London, and is Clerk of the Canada Yearly Meeting.

WALTER C. WOODWARD

RICHMOND, INDIANA

Graham, John W. *The Divinity in Man*. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1927. Pp. 316. \$3.00.

Grubb, Edward. *Christianity as Life*. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1927. Pp. 285. \$2.50.

Jones, Rufus M. *New Studies in Mystical Religion*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. 205. \$1.75.

Within a few months of each other three well known exponents of Quakerism have each published a book on general Christian theology. The readers of this BULLETIN are naturally interested chiefly in the emphasis these authors lay on Quaker history and theory. All three are so firm in their adherence to Quaker principles that their books cannot avoid much reference to these principles. Judging by the reading list of one hundred Friends' books, recently compiled by *The Friend* (London), we may well consider these the official representatives of Quaker theology in our day.

We have never tended to ecclesiasticism and these three scholars certainly hold to a lay conception of religion, and yet it is hard to escape the conviction that they all sound like preachers. There is a strong tendency in all three to lean heavily on metaphor. Metaphors, of course, are valuable, but our authors do not always seem to recognize them as metaphors. Often analogy or picture is taken for proof of a deep and much debated theological doctrine. Graham compares the world to a great tree, in which individuals are leaves, and seems to feel that the statement is sufficient. Grubb speaks continually of Christianity as life, but seems often to forget that his very title is a figure of speech. Jones compares the mystic to a bird in the upper air, but of course many experiences have been so compared. All these are splendid as poetry, or valuable as sermon illustrations, but ought not to be considered as proof in hotly contested philosophical issues.

John William Graham covers a wide range of topics in his book. It includes a summary of his philosophy, a review of the work of Plotinus, essays on the subliminal mind, discussions of early Quakerism, and a collection of mystical verse. In spite of this apparent diversity, the book gives the reader a unified impression. He is simply attempting to understand mystical experience from the angles of poetry, philosophy, psychology, and history.

Though much of our Friend's book is interesting and valuable, there are certain parts of it which tend to repel the average modern reader. These deal chiefly with his belief in certain occult psychic phenomena, especially premonition and telepathy. He takes issue with William James and Rufus Jones, who have considered Fox, at least in his early years, as being definitely psychopathic. Graham says Fox was entirely healthy and that a certain famous trance was simply like a long sleep. But the truth is that sleep is normal, while trances are abnormal. Our author pays an inordinate amount of attention to the ideas and alleged discoveries of the Society for Psychical Research. Why assume that, when Fox had a vision of the defeat of his persecutors, it was a premonition? It is understood

much more simply as a wish-fulfilment, which plays such a prominent part in both day and night dreams. Why accept mysterious doctrines when the accepted principles of psychology suffice?

In this connection it must be remembered that Fox wrote down these early experiences, at least in their final form, when a fairly old man. He was naturally interested in showing that his visions had some objective basis and he stretched the truth to the breaking point in so doing. The connection between the experience on Pendle Hill and the success at Brigflatts is one which is possible only as the result of special pleading. Our esteemed Friend seems so critical on some subjects and so credulous on others. On page 232, for instance, he seems to accept the reliability of post-mortem appearances of persons.

The book abounds in clever statements and clear explanations. For example, "The Christian and the Neo-Platonic philosophers were so close to one another that the controversy was very keen." Or another, "Let us distrust all doctrines and practices based on a low view of human nature." He sees that there was more poetry than theology in the teaching of the early Friends and shows how long Quakerism thrived before the appearance of Barclay's famous book. "George Fox was," he writes, "no theologian." Fox's epistle to the Barbadoes is called the work of an amateur, playing with the tools of professionals. An interesting point, which I have not seen made so clear before, regards the early death of many First Publishers. Graham shows that most of the Friends of the seventeenth century, whom we remember today, were not really contemporaries. Most of those who left their northern farms about 1654, were, he says, "dead or in prison or ruined in health after the next ten years."

Edward Grubb's book deals with a variety of controversial subjects. He puts much emphasis on the idea which Jesus held of the nature of the Kingdom of God. Albert Schweitzer's famous apocalyptic theory is mentioned, but hardly gets justice. Our author does not show, for example, that it is possible to accept Schweitzer's view and yet, at the same time, reject the idea that Jesus' message was a harsh one. Too much weight is given *The Lord of Thought* by Dougall and Emmet. It is interesting to notice that this book is almost forgotten already, while Schweitzer's influence continues to grow.

The common idea that Jesus died because of the effect his death would have on men is repeated in this book. Is this not a case of reading into the mind of Jesus something that could hardly have been there? He certainly has had a great effect, but his words show that such was not his aim. It was his philosophy of history that determined his action, not his insight into social psychology.

The theory of the resurrection here put forward is interesting. The author seems to shy away from the obvious truth that the experience of the disciples was a thoroughly subjective one. "It has been proved," he writes, "that some persons of rare 'psychical' endowment have succeeded,

by an effort of concentrated attention and will, in projecting a 'veridical Hallucination' of their presence to others at a distance." This may have been "proved" to the satisfaction of some, but it certainly is not generally conceded. Why doesn't he boldly say that the disciples saw an apparition? If the simple explanation suffices, why not use it instead of a labored one?

The book, *Christianity as Life*, is in four parts, dealing with various aspects of Christianity. None of these deals specifically with Quakerism, but the Quaker bias of the author is apparent throughout. Friends will enjoy especially the description of the religious worship and organization of the early Christians. It is shown that the general polity of first century Christianity was strikingly similar to that of seventeenth century Quakerism. Grubb reaffirms the words of Braithwaite to the effect that many of the early Friends opposed bitterly the entrance of any sort of organization into their movement. Both Graham and Grubb object strenuously to the assertion that only a special type of person is suited to Quakerism. The latter author maintains that we have as many "varieties of religious experience" in our movement as may be found in any other group. His own conviction in regard to Quakerism is stated as follows: "In my own belief the Society of Friends has still a work to do for the purification of our religious life. To it, perhaps, has been committed a living testimony to the world that a Christian society can maintain its vitality, and discharge its service for humanity, with a minimum of form and organization, in simple dependence on the Spirit of Jesus Christ, like that of the early Church."

Rufus Jones' Book deals with the theory rather than with the history of mysticism. I think I have read all of the books he has published and I like this one best. One feels in it the great breadth of the author's reading, especially in his chosen field. It is satisfying to have him relate some of his own experiences in mystical matters, as when he names the objects which have particularly inspired him. These are the Jungfrau, the Sistine Madonna, sunset from the Mount of Olives, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and Chartres Cathedral. Notice that three of these are works of nature and two are artistic creations. I am interested to note the absence of anything mechanical. Henry Adams, we remember, admired a dynamo almost as much as he admired Chartres.

Some light is thrown on experiences of the early Friends by the chapter on "Mystical Religion and the Abnormal." "It would appear," he says, "that the highest contributions to life have been made to the world by persons of mobile, fluent, slightly unstable mental organization, capable of quick modification, sensitive to subtle influences which tougher organizations miss, nerves in hair-trigger condition, and almost magically responsive to marginal suggestions." If this is true we do Fox no injustice when we place him in the unstable class. It must be remembered that Fox recovered from his instability. "George Fox," writes our author, "is an excellent illustration of the cohesive power of a great experience of God."

The discussion of Mysticism and Organization gives, as would be expected, large place to Quakerism. I have the feeling that Rufus Jones tends to idealize seventeenth century Quakerism in such passages. Was it really "just a fellowship of persons seeking to form a living organism through which the Life of God could reveal itself?" The vigor and originality of early Quakerism call out our admiration, but there was the 'lunatic fringe' too. Considerable realism in such matters is beneficial. I cannot help wishing, also, that the book included a chapter on the technique of educating for mystical experience. I thought Chapter III would fill this need, but it does not. We want to know how a primrose by the river's brim can come to be more than a mere yellow primrose to Peter Bell.

D. ELTON TRUEBLOOD

GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

Woodward, Walter C. *Timothy Nicholson, Master Quaker: a Biography*. Richmond, Indiana: The Nicholson Press. 1927. Pp. 252. Cloth. \$1.65 postpaid.

Timothy Nicholson was happy in his long life of service, and he has been happy in his biographer. Closely associated with him in many of his interests, Dr. Walter C. Woodward has rendered a labor of love as well as an authoritative account of one of the most distinguished Friends America has produced.

Born in 1828 in North Carolina, Timothy Nicholson threw in his lot with the large and influential body of Friends in Indiana, and from his home in Richmond radiated his participation in the affairs of the nation, the state, and his Society which he so dearly loved. The long span of ninety-six years covered by his life was parallel with the development of the State in which he finally made his permanent home, and where for about sixty years he published and sold books. One might wish that there had been included for those who knew the Master Quaker some familiar picture of him among his books such as Dr. Woodward could have given us. But the interests to which Timothy Nicholson gave his attention with fidelity and unsparing generosity were of such importance that we cannot regret the space which has been devoted to them. Peace, temperance, education, prison reform, relief work, and Meeting affairs offered ample opportunities for the exercise of his judgment, devotion, tact and humor,—all dictated by a lively concern for the welfare of his fellow-men. What progress he saw in his time, and how great was his personal contribution to this progress! Probably no American Friend has had such prolonged personal influence upon public affairs. The younger generations can find inspiration in reading this biography. It shows what one man, if acting with the fixed purpose of applying his faith to public business, and if gifted with intelligent insight, can accomplish single-handed. To read his life is to follow the trend of the public conscience during the second half of the last century and the opening of the twentieth.

The present writer cherishes the memory of the charming and simple hospitality of Friend Nicholson shortly before his death in 1924. It was a First Day evening and we had supper together. We spoke of the changes at Haverford, where he had been superintendent back in the 50's, and of Earlham College, of which he was a trustee for forty-nine years. His tall, gaunt figure, his kindly face, his abounding hospitality and keen interest in affairs will remain a permanent memory to many of us who had the opportunity of seeing this Quaker gentleman in the simplicity of his home.

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT

HAVERFORD, PA.

Busbey, L. White. *Uncle Joe Cannon*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1927. Pp. 362. \$5.00.

Uncle Joe Cannon, according to the editor's note, is practically Joseph Gurney Cannon's (1836-1926) autobiography. The author, for twenty years during the most important part of Joe Cannon's public career, was his private secretary. The book is written in the first person and Joseph Cannon wrote a foreword in which he said that it was his own story but his secretary's book. Thus the book is not in the conventional form of a biography but is in a very real sense an autobiography.

This book will be of interest to Friends generally because of Joseph Cannon's Quaker background. It will be of interest to students of American political history because of his long public career as a member of the House of Representatives and its Speaker. It will be of interest to the general reader because of its fascinating story of life in the developing West and its intimate revelations concerning the lives of public men.

The chapter which deals specifically with Joseph Cannon's "Quaker Heritage" is mainly a narrative of the trip west from North Carolina to Illinois in a wagon. However, we learn from it that the Cannons were of Huguenot descent and the Hollingsworths of Quaker lineage for generations. Joe Cannon's father, being left an orphan while very young, was adopted by two Quaker maidens and brought up in a Quaker way. This adoption and later marriage of his father into the Hollingsworth family gave Joe Cannon a birthright membership in the Society of Friends. This explanation of how Joe Cannon became a Friend and the general information concerning his family life and Quaker community give a fair idea of the conditions and influences under which he was brought up. Nothing is said about his attendance at Earlham College although he was there in 1851.

Early training in his home and community doubtless exerted a profound influence on his life. His mother was very religious. His father was a man of convictions. At one time a member of the local community sought the advice of the Meeting in disposing of forty slaves which had come into his possession through the inheritance of an estate in Alabama. The Meet-

ing sent Joe Cannon's father to Alabama with instructions to bring the slaves to the free soil of Indiana. Not only did he execute this order against the will of many influential citizens of the community but he even hired one of the slaves in defiance of the law prohibiting the employment of Negroes. His refusal to pay the fine for the violation caused his horses to be taken away from him. Joe Cannon called this a "rank injustice."

These early influences doubtless contributed much to the building of Joe Cannon's philosophy of life. His honesty, his integrity, and his firm adherence to the right as he saw it regardless of the opposition command our respect. It is interesting to read this story of his life and estimate the influence of his Quaker training on his conduct. The non-essentials, chewing tobacco and his use of profanity, do not typify him. The story of his public career indicates that he was a man of high ethical standards, a public servant, and a statesman. The popular acclaim as "Uncle Joe" shows the affection of the people for him.

The part of the book which deals with the public career of Uncle Joe reveals some interesting things that are seldom found outside of biographies. Of the many revelations contained herein only a few can be mentioned. A chapter on "How Tilden Missed the Presidency" shows that a ruling of the Speaker of the House assured the election of Hayes. Another chapter shows how Thomas B. Reed, by naming alphabetically those representatives present who refused to answer to the roll call and directing the Secretary to place their names on the roll, created a famous quorum and abolished the precedent which allowed members of the House to be present and yet refuse to answer to their names at roll call. This not only made the quorum but also increased the power of the Speaker. A chapter on "Roosevelt Methods" throws more light on some of the unscrupulous conduct of the former president about which little is known. These incidents and many others make this a very interesting story of a man who was for forty-six years a Representative in Congress, and for eight years, the longest consecutive term ever held by any man, was Speaker of the House.

J. CURTIS NEWLIN

RICHMOND, INDIANA

—A booklet has come to hand entitled, *Proceedings of the Haworth Association of America*, covering the family reunions of 1899 and 1902, in Indiana and Missouri respectively. Among other items appear two letters (1699 and 1701) from George Haworth, of Philadelphia, to relatives in England. The first letter tells of hardships on the voyage to America, during which fifty-six died. The second letter describes the country and gives advice to prospective immigrants: "If you come servants [you] must be sold for four or five years hard (*sic*), so be sure to come free, and bring such things as will suit plantation work, as horse chains and plough gears." George Haworth went to live near his cousin, James Haworth, in Bucks County.



LONGWOOD MEETING, 1865

Front row beginning at left: Oliver Johnson, Charles G. Ames (next figure unidentified), Frances Gage (behind post), George Thompson, William Lloyd Garrison (holding bouquet).